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Scenes & characters from Indian history as described in the works of

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SCENES AND CHARACTERS FROM INDIAN HISTORY

SCENES & CHARACTERS

FROM

INDIAN HISTORY

As described in the works of some Old Masters

COMPILED AND EDITED WITH
HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
C. H. PAYNE

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PREFACE

For perspective, proportion, and sequence of cause and effect, we go to the scientific historian: for atmosphere and life, to those who wrote amidst the scenes they describe. The greatest historians cannot give us genuine 'period' atmosphere: the humblest contemporary writer exudes it automatically. The latter may be too close to his subject to see it in its true perspective; many of its features which, to the historian, stand out in sharp relief, may, from his nearer view-point, be out of focus, or altogether outside his field of vision; it may be that he does not describe with scrupulous accuracy even what is before his eyes. All this leaves us unconcerned. It is not for perspective that we go to him; nor do we look to find in his pages either breadth or depth of vision. We prefer him to be reliable, though even the lie of a contemporary writer may have its uses. For us the value of his narrative lies in the personal and intimate touches with which, all unconsciously, he gives reality to his scenes, and life to his characters. If we can push our way with him through the crowded bazars of Calicut, and squeeze

ourselves into the palace of the Zamorin along with Vasco da Gama, what matter though he tries to persuade us that a Hindu temple is a Christian church? What matter though he overestimates the value of the Peacock Throne, if he shows us the Great Mogul himself seated on it?

Five of the ten authors represented in this volume, Abdur Razzak, the anonymous author of the *Roteiro*, Babar, Oxinden, and Tavernier, wrote as eye-witnesses, and take rank as original authorities. The other five based their narratives directly on the accounts of eye-witnesses, and may, therefore, be described as original authorities once removed. Plutarch wrote with the letters of Alexander the Great in front of him; Hwui Li was the disciple and intimate friend of Hiouen Thsang, and had at his disposal all his master's diaries and notes; Castanheda drew his materials from the *Roteiro* and other first-hand sources; Firishta made use of the works of Abul Fazl and Badaoni, both contemporary writers, and used his own eyes in addition; and Du Jarric relied chiefly on the letters and reports of the Jesuit Fathers resident at the Mogul court.

My selections, with the exception of that from Plutarch's *Lives*, have been made from works not easily accessible to the general reader, though a good library should contain most of them. Beal's translation of Hwui Li's *Life* of Hiouen Tsiang is probably familiar to many; but the fine French version of M. Stanislas Julien, from which I have

translated the passage in the text, is little known in this country, and is almost unprocurable. The two passages from Du Jarric's *Histoire* I have translated from the original French edition. With the exception of one or two paragraphs in Mr. V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, this is, I believe, the first time that any portion of Du Jarric's valuable and extremely rare work has been published in English. Mr. Smith is the only English author of modern times who has made an extensive use of the *Histoire*, on the merits of which he lays the strongest emphasis. I am preparing, and hope shortly to produce a translation of all that part of the work which deals with the Mogul empire.

My thanks are due to the Hakluyt Society for permission to make use of Professor Ravenstein's translation of the *Roteiro*, from which the extract in the text is taken, and to Mr. Humphrey Milford for similar permission in respect of the extract from Tavernier's *Travels*, which is taken from the new edition of Dr. Ball's translation, just published by the Oxford University Press. The account of Mr. Oxinden's mission to Sivaji is reproduced from the *Factory Records* in the library of the India Office, for access to which I have to thank Mr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian, to whom I am also indebted for assistance and advice. I desire to acknowledge the assistance I have received in the preparation of the notes from the writings of Mr. J. W. M'Crindle, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. V. A. Smith, Sir E. D. Maclagan,

the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., Professor Stanley Lane-Poole, and the numerous other authorities quoted or referred to. My frequent references to Sir Henry Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* are sufficient evidence of my indebtedness to that unique and invaluable work.

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I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN INDIA

(Plutarch) [1]

Alexander the Great was born in 356 B.C. At the age of twenty he became king of Macedonia. Nine years later, his sway extended from the western shores of Greece to the eastern limits of Afghanistan. In 327 B.C. he prepared to invade India; and in February of the following year, he crossed the Indus, and entered the kingdom of Taxiles.

The extent of King Taxiles's dominions in India was thought to be as large as Egypt, abounding in good pastures, and producing beautiful fruits. The

[1] Many of those who were with Alexander on his eastern campaigns wrote accounts of India and of the events which took place during the invasion of that country; but these accounts, some of them by writers of fame such as Ptolemy, Nearchus, Aristobulos, and Megasthenes, have all perished. Their contents have, however, come down to us in the later histories of Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch, and other early writers. After the death of Alexander, Megasthenes was sent by Seleukos as ambassador to the court of Androcottus at Magadha; and it was from his writings that the Greeks acquired most of their knowledge of India at this period.

Plutarch wrote about the middle of the first century A.D. The *Parallel Lives*, his best known work, consists of the lives of forty-six famous men of Greece and Rome, arranged in pairs, a Greek with a Roman. Each pair constitutes a complete book, which concludes, in most cases, with a comparison between the

king himself had the reputation of a wise man,[1] and at his first interview with Alexander, he spoke to

characters of the two protagonists. Alexander is paired with Julius Caesar; but in this case the comparison is wanting. Plutarch's design, as he tells us at the commencement of his life of Alexander, was not "to write histories, but lives"; that is, to sketch the characters of men rather than to give a detailed account of their exploits. The interest of the *Parallel Lives* is, therefore, mainly ethical; though there are not wanting passages of great historical importance. Prominent amongst these is the account of Alexander's victory over Porus, which is based, as the biographer himself informs us, on Alexander's own letters.

Of the other Greek writers, Arrian made the best use of his authorities, and his *Anabasis* is the most complete as well as the most trustworthy account that we possess of Alexander's invasion of India. The most readable history of the invasion is that of Quintus Curtius. It is, however, less reliable than the *Anabasis*, though superior to it in literary style.

[1] The real name of this king was Omphis, or Ambhi. He had only recently succeeded to the throne. His father, who was at feud with Porus, had sent an embassy to Alexander the previous year, hoping to secure the support of the invader in crushing his powerful rival. As soon as Alexander crossed the Indus, Ambhi tendered his submission, and was received with kindness and distinction. He rendered valuable service in the campaign against Porus; and on the defeat of the latter, Alexander restored him to his throne, and at the same time effected a reconciliation between the two neighbours. It was only after Alexander had confirmed his sovereignty, that Ambhi assumed the hereditary title of 'Taxiles.' The kingdom over which he ruled lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (the Jhilam). Its capital was Taxila, a great and flourishing city on the banks of the Haro, renowned for its wealth and the magnificence of its buildings, and for many years the chief seat of Hindu learning in northern India. Its ruins, which may still be seen, cover an area of nearly twelve square miles. They lie twenty-four miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi, and eight miles to the south-east of Hasan Abdal. A detailed description of them is contained in Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India.*

him in these terms: "To what purpose," said he, "should we make war upon one another, if the design of your coming into these parts be not to rob us of our water or our necessary food, which are the only things that wise men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other riches and possessions, as they are accounted in the eye of the world, if I am better provided of them than you, I am ready to let you share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to you than me, I have no objection to be obliged to you." This discourse pleased Alexander so much that, embracing him, "Do you think," said he to him, "your kind words and courteous behavior will bring you off in this interview without a contest? No, you shall not escape so. I shall contend and do battle with you so far, that how obliging soever you are, you shall not have the better of me." Then receiving some presents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and to complete his bounty gave him in money ready coined one thousand talents; at which his old friends were much displeased,[1] but it gained him the hearts of many of the barbarians. But the best soldiers of the Indians now entering into the pay of several of the cities, undertook to defend

[1] This resentment was not unnatural; for the Macedonian soldiers seldom profited by these outbursts of generosity on the part of their leader. Alexander could bestow a princely gift with princely grace; but the gift was generally designed to make the light of his magnanimity so shine before men that they should see his good works, and glorify—Alexander the Great.

them, and did it so bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble, till at last, after a capitulation, upon the surrender of the place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the sword.[1] This one breach of his word remains as a blemish upon his achievements in war, which he otherwise had performed throughout with that justice and honour that became a king. Nor was he less incommoded by the Indian philosophers, who inveighed against those princes who joined his party, and solicited the free nations to oppose him. He took several of these also and caused them to be hanged.

[1] This took place at the capture of Mazaga, a stronghold of the Assakenians, whom Alexander subdued before crossing the Indus. According to Arrian's account, the defenders sent a herald to treat with Alexander, who "to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve such stout soldiers, agreed with them (the Indian mercenaries) that they should enter into his army and serve under him. Whereupon they came forth from the city and encamped by themselves upon a little hill opposite to the Macedonians. But they did not desire to fight against other Hindus, and they resolved to steal away at night and return to their homes. Alexander, having intelligence of this, that very night surrounded the hill on which they lay with his forces and cut them all off. He then took the city, now devoid of defenders, by force." Diodorus, who also mentions the affair, says nothing of any engagement on the part of the mercenaries to serve under Alexander, but states that when they protested that they were being attacked in violation of sworn obligations, Alexander "with loud voice retorted that his covenant merely bound him to let them depart from the city, and was by no means a league of perpetual amity between them and the Macedonians." Neither story is much to Alexander's credit; while, as M'Crindle remarks, his "attack upon the city after it had capitulated on terms, admits of no justification."

Alexander, in his own letters, has given us an account of his war with Porus. He says the two armies were separated by the river Hydaspes,[1] on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the passage; that he, on the other hand, made every day a great noise and clamor in his camp, to dissipate the apprehensions of the barbarians; that one stormy dark night he passed the river, at a distance from the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his

[1] The exact spot at which Alexander crossed the Hydaspes is still a matter of dispute. Opinions are divided between Jhilam and Jalalpur, some thirty miles further south. The question is discussed in detail in V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 78-82. Smith has "not the slightest doubt" that Alexander crossed at Jhilam, the shortest and easiest route open to him. This view has the powerful support of Grote. M'Crindle, however, prefers Jalalpur (see his *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 344), mainly on the ground that the latter town is more consistent with Alexander's line of march, as indicated by Strabo. But it should be borne in mind that M'Crindle supposes Alexander to have crossed the Indus at Attock; whereas the passage was actually made at Ohind (Und), some sixteen miles further north. This fact was discovered in 1907 by the French traveller, Mons. Foucher, who gives an interesting account of his investigations in his *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara*. His discovery lends additional probability to the Jhilam theory.

The precise date of the crossing of the Hydaspes has not been ascertained. Smith accepts the view of Grote, that "as far as opinion can be formed, it would seem that the battle was fought about the end of June, or the beginning of July, 326 B.C., after the rainy season had commenced." Mr. Bevan, in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol i. p. 361, assigns the battle to the month of May, on the strength of Strabo's statement that the Greek army reached the Chenab at the time of the summer solstice.

foot, and the best of his horse. Here there fell a most violent storm of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and seeing some of his men burnt and dying with the lightning, he nevertheless quitted the island and made over to the other side. The Hydaspes, he says, now after the storm, was so swollen and grown so rapid, as to have made a breach in the bank, and a part of the river was now pouring in here, so that when he came across, it was with difficulty he got a footing on the land, which was slippery and unsteady, and exposed to the force of the currents on both sides. This is the occasion when he is related to have said, "O ye Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I incur to merit your praise?" This, however, is Onesicritus's [1] story. Alexander says, here the men left their boats, and passed the breach in their armor, up to the breast in water, and that then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time enough to his assistance. Nor did he judge amiss; for being charged by a

[1] Onesicritus, though he wrote as an eye-witness, was a somewhat untrustworthy chronicler. He piloted Alexander's fleet down the Hydaspes, and afterwards to the Persian Gulf. Arrian refers to him thus: "Nearchus was appointed Admiral over the whole navy, and Onesikritus captain of that single ship where the king was; who, notwithstanding, in his history of Alexander, falsely assumes the title of Admiral, when he was, in reality, no more than the commander of the royal galley."

thousand horse, and sixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horse upon the place. Porus, by this time guessing that Alexander himself had crossed over, came on with his whole army, except a party which he left behind, to hold the rest of the Macedonians in play, if they should attempt to pass the river. But he, apprehending the multitude of the enemy, and to avoid the shock of their elephants, dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Cœnus to fall upon the right, which was performed with good success. For by this means both wings being broken, the enemies fell back in their retreat upon the centre, and crowded in upon their elephants. There rallying, they fought a hand-to-hand battle, and it was the eighth hour of the day before they were entirely defeated. This description the conqueror himself has left us in his own epistles.

Almost all the historians agree in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be proportionably mounted, as a horseman on his horse. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many singular proofs of sagacity and of particular care of the king, whom, as long as he was strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who set upon him ; and as soon as he perceived him overpowered

with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him how he expected to be used, he answered, "As a king." For that expression, he said, when the same question was put to him a second time, comprehended everything. And Alexander, accordingly, not only suffered him to govern his own kingdom as satrap under himself, but gave him also the additional territory of various independent tribes whom he subdued, a district which, it is said, contained fifteen several nations, and five thousand considerable towns, besides abundance of villages.[1]

Some little time after the battle with Porus, Bucephalus died, as most of the authorities state, under cure of his wounds, or, as Onesicritus says, of fatigue and age, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death, than if he had lost an old companion or an intimate friend,

[1] There is obviously some confusion here. Arrian's account, which is much more likely to be correct, is as follows: "He (Alexander) took 37 cities, the least of which contained 5000 inhabitants, and several of them above 10,000. He took also a great number of villages not less populous than the cities, and gave the government of the country to Porus" (*Anabasis*, v. 19).

After the death of Alexander, Porus made himself master of Sind, and was subsequently (about the year 317 B.C.) treacherously slain by Endemos, who had been left in India as satrap by Alexander. The latter statement rests on the authority of Diodorus; but it is possible that another Porus may be referred to.

and built a city, which he named Bucephalia,[1] in memory of him, on the bank of the river Hydaspes. He also, we are told, built another city, and called it after the name of a favourite dog, Peritas, which he had brought up himself. So Sotion assures us he was informed by Potamon of Lesbos.

But this last combat with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonians' courage, and stayed their further progress into India. For having found it hard enough to defeat an enemy who brought but twenty

[1] Assuming that the Hydaspes was crossed at Jhilam, Bucephalia must be identified with that city. Smith regards this identification as certain ; and states that the exact site is marked by an extensive mound to the west of the town, which has yielded "large ancient bricks and numerous Graeco-Bactrian coins." Arrian's account is as follows : "Then on the very place where the battle had been fought, beyond the river, and where his grand encampment was on this side, he caused two cities to be built : that on the further side he named Nikaia, in memory of his victory over the Indians, and this he named Bucephala, to perpetuate the memory of his horse Bucephalus, which had died there, not because of any wound he had received, but merely of old age and excess of heat ; for when this happened he was nigh thirty years old. He had also endured much fatigue and undergone many dangers with his master, and would never suffer any except Alexander to mount him. He was strong and beautiful in body, and of a generous spirit."

The position of Nikaia, which never became an important city, is uncertain. Smith suggests the village of Sukchainpur, on the scene of the battle, as the site. The other Nikaia, where Alexander halted in 327 B.C. when on his way to the Indus, should probably be identified with Jalalabad.

No one has suggested a site for the city in honour of the dog ; and as Plutarch is the only writer who refers to it, while his information appears to have been of a distinctly hear-say description, we may be content to let the sleeping Peritas lie.

thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field, they thought they had reason to oppose Alexander's design of leading them on to pass the Ganges [1] too, which they were told was thirty-two furlongs broad and a hundred fathoms deep, and the banks on the further side covered with multitudes of enemies. For they were told the king of the Gandaritans [2] and Praesians expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Nor was this a mere vain report, spread to discourage them. For Androcottus,[3] who not long

[1] The river Hyphasis (the Beas) was the limit of Alexander's eastward progress. It was on reaching this river that he finally abandoned his design of penetrating into the country beyond the Ganges. In reference to this passage, M'Crindle remarks: "This seems an almost inexcusable mistake on Plutarch's part—his conducting Alexander as far as the Ganges" (*Invasion of India*, p. 310). But does Plutarch conduct him to the Ganges? He tells us, which is perfectly true, that the soldiers refused to be led into the regions beyond that river; but he does not say that they had actually reached its banks before they declined to go any further. In fact, by the words "which they were told was thirty-two furlongs broad, etc. . . ." he distinctly implies that they had never seen, but had only heard of the river Ganges.

[2] The Gangaridai are the people intended here. They dwelt in what is now Lower Bengal, and like the Praesians, whose capital was Pataliputra, they came under the sway of Chandragupta. The Gandaritans, or Gandaridai, with whom, owing to the similarity of names, the Gangaridai have frequently (as here) been confused, belonged to the north-west of India, their country, Gandara, corresponding roughly with the present Peshawar district.

[3] Androkottus is the Greek name for Chandragupta, whose accession to the throne of Magadha took place in 322 B.C.

after reigned in those parts, made a present of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus,[1] and with an army of six hundred thousand men subdued all India. Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged at his men's reluctancy, that he shut himself up in his tent, and threw himself upon the ground, declaring, if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for anything they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confess himself vanquished. But at last the reasonable presuasions of his friends and the cries and lamentations of his soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet he could not refrain from leaving behind him various deceptive memorials of his expedition, to impose upon after-times, and to exaggerate his glory with posterity, such as arms larger than were really worn, and mangers for horses, with bits of bridles above the usual size, which he set up, and distributed in several places. He erected altars, also, to the gods, which the Praesians even in our time do honour to when they pass the river, and offer sacrifice upon them after the Grecian manner. Androcottus, then a boy,

[1] Seleukos Nikator was one of Alexander's generals. On the latter's death he made himself king of Syria, founding the Seleukian dynasty. In 306 B.C. he led an expedition into India with the object of recovering the conquests of Alexander, over which Chandragupta had established his sovereignty. The expedition ended in a treaty by which Seleukos ceded to Chandragupta his Indian provinces, receiving in exchange five hundred elephants, while his daughter became the bride of the Indian monarch.

saw Alexander there, and is said often afterwards to have been heard to say, that he missed but little of making himself master of those countries; their king,[1] who then reigned, was so hated and despised for the viciousness of his life, and the meanness of his extraction.

Alexander was now eager to see the ocean. To which purpose he caused a great many row-boats and rafts to be built, in which he fell gently down the rivers at his leisure, yet so that his navigation was neither unprofitable nor inactive. For by several descents upon the banks, he made himself master of the fortified towns, and consequently of the country on both sides. But at a siege of a town of the Mallians,[2] who have the repute of being the bravest

[1] This king must have been Dhana Nanda, the last of the Nanda dynasty, who was deposed and slain by Chandragupta in 322 B.C.

[2] The Malloi, the Malavas of the Mahabharata, dwelt on either side of the lower course of the Hydraoti (the Ravi); the country they occupied corresponded roughly to what is now the Jhang district and the northern part of the Montgomery district (see V. A. Smith's exhaustive article on "The position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjab conquered by Alexander the Great," in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, Oct. 1903).

The exact position of the stronghold where Alexander so nearly lost his life, and which so many writers have erroneously identified with Multan, is not, and probably never will be, known. Preparatory to his operations against the Malloi, Alexander assembled his forces at the confluence of the Hydraoti (Ravi) and the Akesanes (the Jhilam after its junction with the Chenab). But owing to the changes which have taken place in the courses of the Panjab rivers, it is impossible to say where this confluence was two thousand years ago. The probability is that it was further north than it is to-day, as the tributary streams have,

people of India, he ran in great danger of his life. For having beaten off the defendants with showers of arrows, he was the first man that mounted the wall by a scaling ladder, which, as soon as he was up, broke and left him almost alone, exposed to the darts which the barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this distress, turning himself as well as he could, he leaped down in the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The brightness and clattering of his armor [1] when he came to the ground made the barbarians think they saw rays of light, or some bright phantom playing before his body, which frightened them so at first, that they ran away and dispersed. Till seeing him seconded but by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and some, while he

in most cases, increased in length. Smith concludes that this particular stronghold must have been from eighty to ninety miles distant from Multan in a north-easterly direction. This would place it about half-way between Multan and Lahore.

[1] Plutarch gives the following picture of Alexander as he appeared at the battle of Arbela: "His coat was of the Sicilian make, girt close about him, and over that a breastpiece of thickly quilted linen, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Issus. The helmet, which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was so well wrought and polished that it was as bright as the most refined silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he most used in fight, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The belt which he also wore in all engagements was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armour. It was a work of the ancient Helicon, and had been presented to him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect for him."

bravely defended himself, tried to wound him through his armor with their swords and spears. And one who stood further off, drew a bow with such just strength, that the arrow finding its way through his cuirass, stuck in his ribs under the breast. This stroke was so violent, that it made him give back, and set one knee on the ground, upon which the man ran up with his drawn scimitar, thinking to despatch him, and had done it, if Peucestes and Limnæus had not interposed, who were both wounded, Limnæus mortally, but Peucestes stood his ground, while Alexander killed the barbarian. But this did not free him from danger; for, besides many other wounds, at last he received so weighty a stroke of a club upon his neck that he was forced to lean his body against the wall, still, however, facing the enemy. At this extremity, the Macedonians made their way in and gathered round him. They took him up, just as he was fainting away, having lost all sense of what was done near him, and conveyed him to his tent, upon which it was presently reported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains sawed off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and so with much trouble got off his cuirass, they came to cut the head of it, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almost mortal swoonings, but when it was out he came to himself again. Yet though all danger was past, he continued very

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weak, and confined himself a great while to a regular diet and the method of his cure, till one day hearing the Macedonians clamoring outside in their eagerness to see him, he took his cloak and went out. And having sacrificed to the gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the country on both sides, and several considerable cities.

In this voyage he took ten of the Indian philosophers prisoners who had been most active in persuading Sabbas[1] to revolt, and had caused the Macedonians a great deal of trouble. These men, called Gymnosophists, were reputed to be extremely ready and succinct in their answers, which he made trial of, by putting difficult questions to them, letting them know that those whose answers were not pertinent, should be put to death, of which he made the eldest of them judge. The first being asked which he thought the most numerous, the dead or the living, answered, "The living, because those who are dead are not at all." Of the second, he desired to know whether the earth or the sea produced the largest beasts; who told him, "The

[1] Sabbas (called Sambos by Arrian) was the ruler of a hilly region to the west of the lower Indus. His capital was Sindimana, usually identified with Sehwan (for no other reason, according to V. A. Smith, but that it begins with 's'). The opposition, or revolt, as Alexander prefers to call it, of Sabbas, does not appear to have been of a very desperate nature. He fled in terror, Arrian tells us, on the approach of the Macedonian troops, and finally surrendered without a struggle.

earth, for the sea is but a part of it." His question to the third was, which is the cunningest of beasts? "That," said he, "which men have not yet found out." He bade the fourth tell him what argument he used to Sabbas to persuade him to revolt. "No other," said he, "than that he should either live or die nobly." Of the fifth he asked, Which was the eldest, night or day? The philosopher replied, "Day was eldest, by one day at least." But perceiving Alexander not well satisfied with that account, he added, that he ought not to wonder if strange questions had as strange answers made to them. Then he went on and inquired of the next, what a man should do to be exceedingly beloved. "He must be very powerful," said he, "without making himself too much feared." The answer of the seventh to his question, how a man might become a god, was, "By doing that which was impossible for men to do." The eighth told him, "Life is stronger than death, because it supports so many miseries." And the last, being asked how long he thought it decent for a man to live, said, "Till death appear more desirable than life." Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give sentence. "All that I can determine," said he, "is, that they have every one answered worse than another." "Nay," said the king, "then you shall die first, for giving such a sentence." "Not so, O king," replied the gymnosophist, "unless you said falsely that he should die first who made

the worst answer." In conclusion he gave them presents and dismissed them.

But to those who were in greatest reputation among them, and lived a private quiet life, he sent Onesicritus, one of Diogenes the Cynic's disciples, desiring them to come to him.[1] Calanus, it is said, very

[1] The interview with these philosophers took place before Alexander left the kingdom of Taxiles. According to Strabo's account, Onesicritus found Calanus lying upon stones; and the Indian philosopher, casting a scornful glance at his visitor's somewhat sumptuous apparel, bade him, as a necessary preliminary to their discourse, strip off his clothes and lie down naked beside him on the stones. Nevertheless, Calanus allowed Taxiles to persuade him to wait upon the Grecian monarch, and in the end he threw in his lot with his new patron, and despite the remonstrances of the other philosophers, left India in his company. At Sousa he became indisposed, and preferring death to sickness, mounted a funeral pyre and was burnt alive. The memorable scene is thus described by Plutarch: "Having requested that a funeral pile might be erected, Calanus came to it on horseback, and after he had said some prayers and sprinkled himself and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, before he ascended it, he embraced and took leave of the Macedonians who stood by, desiring them to pass that day in mirth and good-fellowship with their king, whom in a little time, he said, he doubted not to see again at Babylon. Having thus said, he lay down, and covering up his face, he stirred not when the fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself, as it was the ancient custom of the philosophers in those countries to do."

Strabo, whose account is taken from the writings of Megasthenes, states that the Indian philosophers were divided into two classes, the Brahmans and the Sramanas. The former "have their abode in a grove in front of the city in a moderate-sized inclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse, and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. The

arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself and hear what he said, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. But Dandamis [1] re-

hearer is not allowed to speak, or even to cough, and much less to spit, and if he offends in any of these ways he is cast out from their society that very day, as being a man who is wanting in self restraint. After living in this manner for seven and thirty years, each individual retires to his property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security." Of the Sramanas (the Buddhist teachers), the most honoured "live in the woods, where they subsist on leaves of trees and wild fruit, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. They abstain from sexual intercourse and from wine. They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity. Next in honour to these are the physicians, since they are engaged in the study of the nature of man. They are simple in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which they can always get for the asking, or receive from those who entertain them as guests in their houses. By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters." (See M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 97-103.)

In reference to the 'questions and answers' in the previous paragraph, M'Crindle quotes the following characteristic observations of Voltaire: "... This is like Nebuchodonosor who absolutely wished to slay the Magians if they did not divine one of his dreams which he had forgotten, or the Calif of *The Thousand and One Nights* who was to strangle his wife when she came to the end of her stories. But it is Plutarch who tells this silly story; we must respect it; he was a 'Greek.'" We are not, however, obliged to 'scrap' the story because Voltaire sneers at it. Alexander's questions were undoubtedly silly; but so were many other things that he said—and did.

[1] Dandamis, whose proper name was Mandanis, was the oldest and most holy of the philosophers whom Onesicritus was sent to

ceived him with more civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him he thought them men of great parts, and to have erred in nothing so much as in having too great respect for the laws and customs of their country. Others say, Dandamis only asked him the reason why Alexander undertook so long a journey to come into those parts. Taxiles, however, persuaded Calanus to wait upon Alexander. His proper name was Sphines, but because he was wont to say *Cale*,[1] which in the Indian tongue is a form of salutation, to those he met with anywhere, the Greeks called him Calanus. He is said to have shown Alexander an instructive emblem of government, which was this. He threw a dry shrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edges of it. The skin when it was pressed in one place, still rose up in another, wheresoever he trod round about it, till he set his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lie even and quiet. The meaning of this similitude being that he ought to reside most in the middle of his empire, and not spend too much time on the borders of it.

interview. Strabo says that he rebuked Calanus for his unceremonious behaviour, and himself entered into a friendly discussion with the Greek envoy. Alexander would have 'annexed' Mandanis as well as Calanus; but the former refused to quit India, or to enter any other service but that of God. (*Vide* Strabo's *Geography*, lib. xv.)

[1] M'Crindle, following Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, connects this word with the Sanscrit *kallyan*, 'prosperity' or 'salvation.' The salutation *kallyan ho*! means much the same as our 'God bless you!'

His voyage down the river took up seven months' time, and when he came to the sea, he sailed to an island which he himself called Scillustis, others Psiltucis,[1] where going ashore, he sacrificed, and made what observations he could as to the nature of the sea and the sea-coast. Then having besought the gods that no other man might ever go beyond the bounds of this expedition, he ordered his fleet, of which he made Nearchus admiral, and Onesicritus pilot, to sail round about, keeping the Indian shore on the right hand, and returned himself by land

[1] Nearchus calls this island Killouta. It was not in the ocean, as Plutarch states, but in the river. Alexander, having established his headquarters at Pattala, near the apex of the Delta, proceeded first to explore the right arm of the river. On reaching the island of Killouta, and finding that it had a good harbour, and contained water, he ordered the rest of his fleet to make its way thither, while he himself, with the fastest of his sailing ships, advanced beyond the island to the mouth of the river. On his return to the island, he despatched Nearchus on his famous voyage to the Persian Gulf, and then made his way back to Pattala. He next explored the left arm of the Delta as far as the sea, and returning again to Pattala, set out thence on his homeward march. This was in 325 B.C. Alexander is said to have commenced his march early in the month of October. Nearchus was held up at the mouth of the river by the S.W. monsoon; and it was nearly three weeks later when he finally put to sea.

Owing to the changes that have taken place in the course of the Indus, the position of Pattala cannot be precisely determined. The same is true of many of the places visited by Alexander on his journey down the river, and so-called 'identifications' should be accepted with caution. The apex of the Delta in Alexander's time is a matter of conjecture; and Pattala has been identified with places as far apart as Tatta, Hyderabad, and Brahmanabad.

through the country of the Orites,[1] where he was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and lost a vast number of his men, so that of an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, he scarcely brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were so diminished by disease, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but most by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country whose inhabitants fared hardly, possessing only a few sheep, and those of a wretched kind, whose flesh was rank and unsavoury by their continual feeding upon sea-fish.[2]

[1] The country of the Orites was a narrow tract between the mountains of Baluchistan and the sea. It extended from the river Purali westward as far as the cape now known as Ras Malan. Gedrosia, the modern Makran, lay between the country of the Orites and Karmania. Plutarch's geography is not very precise. Alexander must have traversed a considerable portion of Gedrosia before he reached a land of plenty. The Orites, who are described by Arrian as an Indian nation, are supposed to be represented to-day by certain of the Las Bela tribes.

[2] The Greeks called the dwellers on this coast the Ichthyophagi. Nearchus, in the account of his voyage to the Persian Gulf, mentions the fishy taste of the mutton which he procured when he landed on the coast of Makran. In a note on "Ancient and Mediæval Makran," in the *Geographical Journal* of April 1896, Colonel Holdich wrote: "The name Makran I believe to be derived from two Persian words, viz. *Mahi* (fish) and *Khuran* (to eat) . . . The whole population of the Makran coast lives on fish to an extent that may seem almost incredible. Not only do the men, women, and children eat fish, but fish enters largely into the food of dogs, cats, camels, and cattle. . . . The Makrains of the coast are the veritable Ichthyophagi of the Greeks, and the stories told of their fish-eating propensities by Arrian are true of them still." (Arrian's account of the Ichthyophagi is to be found in chapter 26 of his *Indica*.)

After sixty days' march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governors of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide. When he had here refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, feasting all the way for seven days together.

(*N.B.*—The passage which forms the text is taken from Dryden's translation of the *Lives*, as corrected and revised by A. H. Clough.)

II

THE MASTER OF THE LAW

(Hwui Li) [1]

Hiouen Thsang, the Master of the Law, as he was styled in China, set out for India in the year 629 A.D., being then twenty-six years of age. His pilgrimage in the 'Western Countries' extended over a period of sixteen years, in the course of which he visited "every place mentioned in Buddhist history or tradition, acquiring the language in which the ancient canonical books of the Buddhists were written, studying commentaries, discussing points of difficulty, and defending the orthodox faith against disbelievers and schismatics." He also made, and took back with him to China, a large collection of manuscripts and images. In 643 A.D., while on a visit to Kumara Raja, the king of Kamarupa in the western portion of Assam, he received an invitation to present himself at the court of king Harsha (Siladitya), the powerful ruler of northern India. Though he had already completed his preparations for his return to China, Hiouen Thsang was unable to refuse this invitation, or rather royal summons; and he, accordingly, set out for Bengal, Kumara Raja accompanying him.

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[1] The accounts here produced of the Assemblies at Kanyakubja (Kanouj) and Prayaga (Allahabad) are taken from the *Life* of Hiouen Thsang, written by his friend and disciple Hwui Li. The *Life* has been translated into English by Samuel Beal (*The Life of Hiuen Tsiang, by the Shaman Hwui Li*, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1878), and into French by M. Stanislas Julien (*Voyages des Pèlerins Buddhistes*, Paris, 1853). The passages in the text have been rendered into English from the latter work (*vide* vol. i. pp. 240-259). The last two volumes of M. Julien's valuable

but, unfortunately, extremely scarce work contain the *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, compiled by the pilgrim himself. The *Life* throws much light on the *Memoirs*, and furnishes many additional details. Together, these two works constitute, as Cowell expresses it, " almost our only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable."

Hwui Li, the author of the *Life*, was a Buddhist priest, renowned for his talents and the purity of his life. He held the office, conferred on him by an imperial decree, of translator of sacred books at the convent of the 'Grande Bienfaisance' at Tchao-ju. As there existed no complete history of Hiouen Thsang's travels, Hwui Li, fearing lest his master's labours might be forgotten by future generations, set himself to write in five books the work entitled *The History of the Travels of the Master of the Three Pitakas.* Hwui Li died on the eve of the completion of his task ; and the final revision of the work was undertaken by a religious student of repute named Yen Tsong, another of Hiouen Thsang's disciples, who added an introduction and five supplementary chapters.

In a review (written for *The Times* in 1857) of M. Julien's work, Professor Max Müller has left us the following vivid impression of the Chinese pilgrim: " His whole life belonged to the faith in which he was born, and the object of his labour was not so much to perfect himself as to benefit others. He was an honest man. And strange, and stiff, and absurd, and outlandish as his appearance may seem, there is something in the face of that poor Chinese monk, with his yellow skin and his small oblique eyes, that appeals to our sympathy—something in his life, and the work of his life, that places him by right among the heroes of Greece, the martyrs of Rome, the Knights of the Crusades—something that makes us feel it a duty to inscribe his name on the roll of the 'forgotten worthies' of the human race."

The Chinese name of the Master of the Law has been anglicised in many different ways. Beal spells it 'Hiuen Tsiang,' and Watters 'Yuan Chwang.' The latter is probably the best of the English versions. In this chapter, for the sake of uniformity, M. Julien's spelling has been retained throughout. 'Hiouen Thsang' is a good transliteration, if the letters are given their French sounds.

I

The Assembly at Kanouj

When the Master of the Law and Kumara Raja [1] arrived near the palace, king Siladitya [2] with twenty of his chief attendants came forth to meet them; and when they had entered and taken their seats, he set choice meats before them, and caused sweet music to be played, and flowers to be strewed at their feet.

Having thus welcomed them, he said to Hiouen Thsang: "I understand you have composed a treatise in refutation of false doctrines. Where is

[1] Hwui Li tells us that when king Siladitya sent for Hiouen Thsang, Kumara Raja was very loath to let him go; and sent word to Siladitya, to whom he was tributary, that he might take his head, but not his guest. "Then I will have your head," was Siladitya's prompt reply; whereon Kumara Raja girded up his loins, and made haste to conduct his guest to the kingdom of Bengal.

[2] Siladitya was the title of king Harsha, the son of the king of Thanesar, who reigned from 606 to 647 A.D. During the first five years of his rule, he subdued the north-west regions and most of Bengal, and at the time of his death, thirty-five years later, he held undisputed sway over the whole of the Ganges basin, Malwa, Gujarat, and Surashtra. He had at his disposal, we are told, a force of 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. The excellence of his civil administration, his zeal in the cause of Buddhism, his charities, and his benevolent institutions, are vividly described in the *Si-yu-ki* (the *Memoirs*), and the *Life*. Hiouen Thsang visited Siladitya in 643 A.D. We learn from the *Memoirs* that the king was at this time at Kajinghara, a town on the banks of the Ganges, about ninety-two miles from Champa.

this treatise ?" "It is here," replied Hiouen Thsang; and the king took it into his hands, and read it. The perusal filled him with joy; and to the officers who were about him he said: "We know that the feeble light of the glow-worm vanishes before the splendour of the rising sun, that the tap of the workman's hammer is drowned in the crash of the thunder; so, in the twinkling of an eye, have the words of the apostles of error been confounded! In defence of their doctrines not one of them, as you know, has dared to open his lips. Devasena, their leader, who claims that in the interpretation of the sacred books he excels all others, and that in the course of his studies he has mastered science in all its branches, has never, while expounding his strange doctrines, lost an opportunity of attacking the principles of the Great Vehicle.[1] Yet no sooner did

[1] At the time when Hiouen Thsang visited India, the controversy between the Old Buddhism and the New was at its height, and was the cause of much bitterness of feeling. It is impossible in a few words to do more than indicate the nature of the controversy. The main subject in dispute was the aim of Buddhism, or rather the ideal which the true disciple should set before himself. The old doctrine laid stress on the attainment of Arahatship, or *nirvana*, in this life; while the new put forward as the chief goal of the Buddhist the attainment of Bodhisatship (see note 1, p. 38), or the condition of one who, having acquired *bodhi*, or wisdom, yet consents to remain a *satva*, or mortal, for the good of mankind. This doctrine was called Maha-yana, or the Great Vehicle; while the older doctrine, as aiming at the salvation of the individual only, was called the Hina-yana, or Little Vehicle. "The Maha-yana doctors said in effect: 'We grant you all you say about the bliss of attaining Nirvana in this life. But it produces advantages chiefly to yourselves. And

he hear of the arrival from a foreign country of this illustrious stranger, than he straightway fled, and remained in hiding at Vaisali,[1] under the pretext of doing homage to the sacred monuments. From this we know that these false teachers have neither knowledge nor ability."

The sister of King Siladitya,[2] a lady endowed with rare intelligence, and who excelled in the traditions of the school of the Sammitiyas,[3] was,

according to your theory there will be necessity for Buddhas in the future as much as there has been for Buddhas in the past. Greater, higher, nobler, then, than the attainment of Arahatship must be the attainment of Bodhisatship, from a desire to save all living creatures in the ages that will come.'

"Yuan Thsang regarded himself as a Mahayanist, took many books of the Great Vehicle back to China, and in his labours as a translator was imitated by a long line of workers in the same field. The later books were afterwards translated into Tibetan, and the new doctrine attained in Tibet to so great a development, that Tibetan Buddhism, or rather Lamaism, has come to be the exact contrary of the earlier Buddhism." (See *Buddhism: its History and Literature*, by T. W. Rhys Davids, p. 208.)

The doctrine of the Maha-yana school is expounded in the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, or *The Lotus of the True Law*, of which there is an English translation by H. Kern (*Sacred Books of the East*, xxi.).

[1] According to V. A. Smith, Basar and the neighbouring village of Bakhira, twenty-one miles north-west of Patna, "undoubtedly represent the ancient Vaisali."

[2] The name of Siladitya's sister was Rajyasri. In the *Memoirs*, Hiouen Thsang describes her as a lady of unusual culture and ability; and states that she shared with her brother the administration of the country.

[3] The Sammitiyas constituted, in the days of Hiouen Thsang, one of the most important sections of the Buddhist *Sangha*. They belonged to the Hina-yana school; but their creed was

at this time, seated behind the king. On hearing that Hiouen Thsang had vindicated the sublime principles of the Great Vehicle, and had exposed the narrowness of the Little Vehicle, she, too, was filled with joy, and bestowed on the Master unbounded praise.

King Siladitya then turned to Hiouen Thsang and said: "Master, your treatise is indeed admirable. I, your disciple, and these learned men who are around you, accept your teaching with faith and submission. But I fear there are yet, in other kingdoms, heretics of the Little Vehicle, who persist in following the path of darkness. It is my wish, therefore, to convoke in your honour a great assembly in the town of Kanyakubja (Kanouj). Thither I

characterised by a strong animistic tendency, which distinguished them from every other Buddhist sect. This tendency found expression in the doctrine called *pudgalavada*, or belief in the existence of the *pudgala*, a sort of person, or 'soul.' Without going so far as to affirm that the soul of every individual had a separate and independent existence, they held that, throughout the chain of existences, there was a definite 'serial entity,' a kind of permanent 'self,' re-appearing at each re-birth. Such a belief is, of course, opposed to that of the orthodox Buddhist, who regards the idea of a separate soul as a delusion, escape from which is essential for those who would tread the path of enlightenment. *Sakkaya-ditthi*, or Delusion of Self, is the first of the ten 'fetters' which must be broken by every true disciple.

> Say not "I am," "I was," or "I shall be,"
> Think not ye pass from house to house of flesh
> Like travellers who remember and forget,
> Ill-lodged or well-lodged.
>
> (*Light of Asia.*)

shall summon the Sramanas[1] (those who have entered the religious life), the Brahmans, and the heretics of the five Indies,[2] that you may reveal to them the deep meaning and beauty of the Great Vehicle, that you may refute their calumnies and destroy their boundless pride, and that the light of your virtue may shine forth as the light of day."

The same day King Siladitya despatched messengers to the different kingdoms, summoning all who were skilled in the interpretation of the sacred books to assemble at Kanyakubja and attend the discourses of the Master of the Law of China. Then, at the commencement of the cold season, he proceeded up the river Ganges, taking the Master of the Law with him, and, in the last month of the year, arrived at the place appointed.

Here were seen assembled eighteen kings of Central India, three thousand monks well versed in the Great and Little Vehicles, two thousand Brahmans and naked followers of heretical doctrines, and about a thousand monks from the monastery of Nalanda.[3]

[1] The Sramanas (the Germanes of the Greek writers) were those who adopted the religious life, whether Buddhists or Jains. (*Srama* = the performance of asceticism.)

[2] The word 'Indies' is doubtless a survival from olden times, when the name India was applied to a number of different regions, which were collectively referred to as the Indies. The 'Five Indies' of Hiouen Thsang and other early Chinese writers included North, Central, East, South, and West India.

[3] The Master of the Law must have found many old friends amongst the monks from the Nalanda monastery; for he had previously spent five years at, or in the vicinity of, this famous

All these persons, renowned alike for their learning and for their eloquence and skill in disputation, were full of eagerness to hear the true voice of the law. They had come, some on elephants, and others in palankeens, and each accompanied by a numerous train of followers bearing banners and standards. Like gathering clouds that gradually fill the sky, the multitude increased in numbers, until it covered a space several miles in extent. Indeed, no com-

seat of learning, studying the Buddhist and Brahmanical writings. According to V. A. Smith, the village of Bargaon, seven miles south of Bihar town, marks the site of Nalanda. The monastery was remarkable both for its size and the beauty and richness of its design. We are told in the *Life* that it was founded by a king named Sakra-ditya (first century B.C. ?), and that its construction continued during six reigns. "The whole establishment," Hwui Li says, "was surrounded by a brick wall which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (*of the Sangharama*). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (*of the morning*), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. . . . All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves; the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand ways,—these things add to the beauty of the scene" (Beal, *Life*, p. 111). Hiouen Thsang was greatly impressed with the learning and ability of the Nalanda priests. "Their distinction," he wrote in his *Memoirs*, "is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure and unblameable. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for

parison would be too extravagant to describe the magnitude of this great company.[1]

Orders had previously been issued by the king for the erection of two great pavilions for the accommodation of the disciples, and for the reception of a statue of Buddha. By the day of his arrival, both these buildings were in readiness. They were spacious and lofty, and each was capable of accommodating a thousand persons. The royal camp was pitched five *li*[2] to the west of the place of

shame. Learned men from different cities, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts." (*Vide* Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 170.)

The *Tripitaka* (the Three Baskets) is the Pali canon of Buddhist law. The *Sutta-Pitaka* deals with the system of moral law, the *Vinaya-Pitaka* with the discipline of monks and nuns, and the *Abhidhamma-Pitaka* with the more metaphysical aspects of the Buddhist law.

[1] Beal states that in the original Chinese this passage is defaced. His own rendering is as follows: "Each was surrounded by its own peculiar attendants, like the clouds for multitude, which in the winter time spread through many scores of miles; and if we say that they were like the standards of the rebellious tribes of the three 'Wus,' or like the drops of rain which fall from the clouds, even this would not be an exaggeration" (*Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 177).

[2] The value of the Chinese *li* has, like that of most Eastern measures, varied with different periods. According to M. Julien's calculations, the *li*, in the days of Hiouen Thsang, was equal to 329 *mètres* ($\frac{1}{3}$ of a *kilomètre*), or 5 *li* equalled just over one English mile. Dr. Fleet, however, who has gone into the matter very thoroughly (*vide* his articles thereon in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1906 and 1907), gives, for the same period, 12·12 English miles as the equivalent of 100 *li*, which estimate is more in conformity with the distances, city measurements, etc., which we find in the *Si-yu-ki* and the *Life*.

assembly ; and here the king had caused a golden statue of Buddha to be cast.

On this day, an elephant of great size, sumptuously harnessed, and bearing on his back a magnificent throne, was brought, and on the throne the Buddha was placed. The king, arrayed to represent Indra, and carrying a white *chowrie*, walked on the right side of the elephant, and King Kumara, in the character of Bramha, and bearing a jewelled umbrella, walked on the left side ; each wore the sacred tiara adorned with flowers and jewelled ribbons. Two other great elephants followed the Buddha ; these were laden with baskets of rare flowers which they scattered abroad at each step. The Master of the Law and the chief officers of the court were severally invited to mount elephants and range themselves in order behind the king ; and three hundred other elephants were provided for the kings, ministers, and chief disciples of the other kingdoms ; these followed in a double line, chanting the praises of the Buddha as they passed along the route.

The procession was formed at dawn, and was conducted from the royal camp to the place of assembly by the king. On reaching the gate of the enclosure, orders were given for all to dismount from their elephants, and for the Buddha to be carried within, and enthroned in the building which had been set apart for its reception.

Siladitya having, in company with Hiouen Thsang, done homage to the Buddha, directed that one

thousand of the most celebrated and learned of the monks of the eighteen kingdoms should enter the place of assembly. Five hundred Brahmans, and persons learned in heretical doctrines, were also permitted to enter; as well as the ministers and principal officers of the different kingdoms, to the number of two hundred. All others, whether monks or laymen, who could not be admitted, were directed to dispose themselves in groups without the gate; and when all had been done as the king had said, food was distributed both to those within and to those without the enclosure. After this, rich gifts were presented to Hiouen Thsang and the monks: these included a golden dish for the service of the Buddha, a golden cup, seven golden ewers, a monk's staff also of gold, three thousand gold pieces, and three thousand linen vestments of fine quality. Each person received according to his merit.[1] This being done, the king caused a sumptuous seat to be prepared, which he invited the Master of the Law to occupy, requesting him, as president of the solemn conference, to extol the doctrine of the Great Vehicle, and announce the subject for discussion.

Hiouen Thsang then ordered Ming-Hien, a master

[1] Beal interprets this passage as follows: "This done, he presented as an offering to Buddha a golden dish, a golden cup, seven golden ewers, one golden staff, three thousand gold pieces, and three thousand vestments of superior cotton stuff. The Master of the Law and the other priests each offered according to their ability." Hiouen Thsang's unwillingness to accept presents would seem to indicate the correctness of this interpretation.

of the law and monk of the convent of Nalanda, to announce his prolegomena[1] to the multitude without, and directed that a copy of the same should be displayed on the gate of the enclosure so that all might study it; he also caused to be added to it these words: "If any man can find here a single error, and can show himself able to refute it, I offer to him my head in acknowledgment thereof." The writing remained suspended on the gate until the evening, and none dared to speak. This greatly pleased the king, who then adjourned the assembly and withdrew to his royal quarters. The eighteen kings and the monks likewise retired to their several resting places, as did also the Master of the Law and King Kumara.

On the morrow, the statue was again escorted, with the same pomp, to the place of assembly, and the conference was renewed. At the end of five days, the heretics of the Little Vehicle, seeing that Hiouen Thsang had destroyed the principles of their doctrines, were filled with a deep hatred against him, and sought to take his life. The king, on being informed of their design, issued the following proclamation: "Since the beginning of the world, truth has been corrupted by false teachers, and mankind has been led astray by specious misrepresentations. If there were no sages of superior merit, how could

[1] The document affixed to the gate of the enclosure doubtless contained the substance of Hiouen Thsang's discourse to the select audience within.

their false doctrines be exposed ? The Master of the Law of China, whose wisdom is unbounded, and whose manner of life excites our admiration and reverence, has come to this kingdom to uproot falsehood, to illumine the sublime Law, and to rescue the blind from the darkness which envelops them. Nevertheless, the chief apostles of error, so far from blushing for shame, have dared to concert odious plots against his life. To tolerate such conduct would be to condone the most atrocious crimes. It is, therefore, decreed, that if any person in this multitude shall dare to attack or injure the Master of the Law, he shall lose his head ; and whoso slanders him, his tongue shall be cut out. But all those who, trusting in my justice, desire to dispute in a becoming manner, shall enjoy full liberty." From this moment the conspirators slunk away and disappeared ; and all the eighteen days passed without one of them daring to open his lips in the assembly.

The evening before the termination of the conference, the Master of the Law again extolled the Great Vehicle, and praised the high merit of Buddha. As a result of his discourses, great numbers quitted the path of error and entered upon the right way, abandoning the narrow teaching of the Little Vehicle to embrace the sublime principles of the Great.

The king's regard for the Master of the Law now became stronger than ever. He ordered ten thousand

pieces of gold, thirty thousand pieces of silver, and a hundred vestments of fine linen to be bestowed on him. The eighteen kings likewise offered him rich gifts. Hiouen Thsang, however, would accept none of these things. Then King Siladitya requested him to mount an elephant which had been splendidly caparisoned for the occasion, giving directions, at the same time, to the most eminent of his nobles to form a procession and conduct the great Master to and fro amongst the people, and to make proclamation that he had expounded and firmly established the principles of the true doctrine, and that none had been able to confute his arguments. In the western kingdoms it is customary to render such honour to the victor in a discussion.

The Master of the Law would have declined this special honour; but the king said: "This custom has come down to us from the earliest times, and we are forbidden to disregard it." Then holding Hiouen Thsang by his sacred robe, he cried in a loud voice: "The Master of the Law of China has triumphantly vindicated the principles of the Great Vehicle, and has uprooted the errors of the sectaries. For eighteen days none has dared to challenge his words. Let his victory be proclaimed on every side." Then the whole multitude rejoiced, and the Master was acclaimed with titles of honour. The disciples of the Great Vehicle called him Mahayana Deva, the Deva of the Great Vehicle, and those of the Little Vehicle called him Moksha Deva, the Deva of

deliverance. Then burning incense, and scattering flowers before him, they did him reverence, and departed. . . .

After the assembly had dispersed, the king caused the golden statue of Buddha which he had had made to be placed in the convent of Nalanda, where it was to remain, together with a large quantity of money and of vestments, in the charge of the monks.

II

The Assembly at Prayaga

The Master of the Law bade farewell to the monks from the monastery of Nalanda; and, having terminated his discourses, departed with the books and images he had collected, and nineteen days later, went to take leave of the king, being desirous of setting out on his return journey. The king said to him: "Since succeeding to the throne, I, your disciple, have reigned over India for more than thirty years, and my mind is always troubled when I reflect how little progress I have made towards happiness and virtue. Formerly, being greatly afflicted at the failure of my efforts, I collected in the kingdom of Prayaga an immense amount of money and of costly articles; and between the two rivers I organised and instituted a grand assembly, to which, every five years, I summoned from the five Indies the Sramanas, the Brahmans, the poor, the fatherless, and the friendless; and for seventy-

five days I made a grand distribution, called Moksha, or the distribution for the deliverance. I have already held five such assemblies, and am now about to convoke a sixth. Why should not the venerable Master tarry with us, so that he may take part in this assembly, and witness the happiness which it brings forth ? "

" Sire," said the Master of the Law, " in all his acts the Bodhisatva [1] searches after happiness and enlightenment. When a wise man obtains a fruit, he does not forget the root from which it grew. Since King Siladitya, in succouring others, withholds not his utmost wealth, how can Hiouen Thsang refuse to postpone his departure ? I ask to be allowed to accompany your Majesty."

The king was delighted with this response ; and setting out on the twenty-first day, he conducted the Master of the Law into the kingdom of Prayaga, and together they arrived at the place of the grand distribution.

On the north of this spot flowed the river Ganges, and on the south the river Jumna. These two rivers, descending together from the north-west and

[1] Various meanings were, at different periods, attached to this word. It was first used, Mr. Rhys Davids says, " of Gotama between the Going Forth and the Nirvana ; it is then used of him from the moment of conception ; then of all the Buddhas from Conception to Arahatship ; then of those beings on earth—men or animals —who were eventually to become Buddhas ; and finally it became a sort of degree in theology, and was used as a term of respect for any learned and able Mahayanist doctor " (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. iii. p. 3).

flowing eastwards, mingle their waters in this kingdom. To the west of their confluence there is a great plain as smooth and flat as a mirror, and fourteen or fifteen *li* in circumference. Here, from ancient times, kings have been in the habit of distributing alms ; and from this circumstance the plain is held in high honour, and has been called Danamandala, the Place of Alms. Tradition says that it is more meritorious to give a single piece of money on this spot than to give a hundred thousand pieces elsewhere.

In preparation for the distribution, the king had ordered a space a thousand feet square to be enclosed within a reed fence. Within this enclosure he caused to be erected a large number of thatched buildings, for the reception of articles of gold and silver, and other costly things such as pearls, red glass, and the gems known as Indranila and Mahanila.[1] He also constructed many rows of store-houses for silk and cotton wares, and for gold and silver money. A large refectory was built without the enclosure ; and in front of the store-houses were hundreds of long shelters, arranged in straight lines like the market-stalls in our capital, each having seating accommodation for a thousand people.

The Sramanas, the Pachandas, the Nirgranthas,[2] the poor, the fatherless, and the friendless, had already been summoned by royal decree to assemble

[1] The Indranila is the sapphire, and the Mahanila the emerald.

[2] The Nirgranthas were naked ascetics of the Jain persuasion.

at Danamandala, to take part in the distribution. The Master of the Law, who had not yet left Kanyakubja, set out without delay for the Place of Alms; and the kings of the eighteen realms likewise joined the suite of King Siladitya. Five hundred thousand monks and laymen had already assembled by the time they arrived.

King Siladitya placed his camp on the north of the Ganges. The King of Southern India, Dhruvapata,[1] took up his quarters on the west of the confluence of the rivers; and Kumara Raja encamped adjacent to a flowery grove on the south side of the Jumna. Those who had come to receive alms pitched their tents to the west of King Dhruvapata's camp. The following morning, the military retainers of King Siladitya and of Kumara Raja embarking on boats, and those of King Dhruvapata mounting elephants, made their way in two imposing processions to the assembly. Here they were joined by the eighteen kings, who ranged themselves and their escorts in the positions assigned to them.

[1] Dhruvapata ruled over the kingdom of Valabhi in the district now known as Kathiawar. He was son-in-law to Siladitya, under whom he occupied a semi-independent position. His capital was situated at Vala, eighteen miles north-west of Bhawnagar. Hiouen Thsang speaks of him in his *Memoirs* as of a lively but hasty disposition, and lacking in statecraft and wisdom. He was, however, a zealous supporter of the Law, and every year he held a great assembly for the distribution of alms. On these occasions it was his custom to give away large quantities of gems and other articles of value, and then to redeem them at twice their price. When Hiouen Thsang visited his kingdom, he was received with much honour and respect.

On the first day, in a thatched temple within the enclosure, a statue of Buddha was installed, and the most costly of the articles and vestments were distributed. Choice meats were also provided, and on every side flowers were scattered and sweet music was heard.

On the second day, a statue of Aditya, the Sun Deva, was installed, and precious gifts were again distributed, but not so many as on the first day. A similar distribution took place on the third day, when a statue of the mighty Iswara was installed.

On the fourth day alms were distributed to ten thousand monks. They were seated in a hundred rows, and each of them received a hundred pieces of gold, a linen garment, and divers meats and drinks, as well as perfumes and flowers.

The fifth distribution was to the Brahmans, lasting twenty days; the sixth to the heretics, lasting ten days; and the seventh to naked mendicants from distant countries, also lasting ten days. The eighth lasted for a month, the recipients being the poor, the fatherless, and the friendless.

By this time the royal treasure, the accumulated wealth of five years, was completely exhausted. There was nothing left to the king but his elephants, horses, and weapons of war, which were needed for the chastisement of disorderly people and the protection of his kingdom. His royal robes, his necklaces, earrings, bracelets, the wreath on his crown, the pearls about his neck, and the carbuncle

which shone in the centre of his head-dress, all these he gave in charity, withholding nothing of all that he possessed.

Having thus disposed of his worldly goods, King Siladitya begged of his sister a piece of threadbare cloth, and covering himself with the same, worshipped the Buddhas of the ten regions. Transported with joy and exultation, he joined his hands and cried: "While amassing these treasures, I have been in perpetual fear lest I should be unable to guard them securely. But now that I have deposited them in the field of happiness, I know them to be safe for ever. In all my future existences may I thus gather wealth for the help of my fellow men, and so attain, in all their fulness, the ten divine faculties." [1]

On the conclusion of these two magnificent assemblies the eighteen kings collected from their subjects many valuable wares and much money, and redeemed and restored to King Siladitya his royal robes, his necklace, the carbuncle from his head-dress,

[1] The *dasabala*, or the ten divine faculties, constitute the ten-fold wisdom of him who has reached the state of a Buddha, that is to say, the wisdom (1) that knows what is necessary for the right fulfilment of any duty in any circumstances, (2) that knows the result of *karma*, (3) that knows the way to obtain Nirvana, (4) that sees the various *sakwalas*, or systems of worlds, (5) that knows the thoughts of other beings, (6) that knows that the organs of sense and smell are not the self, (7) that knows the purity resulting from the *dhyanas*, the four stages of mystic meditation, (8) that knows where anyone was born in his former births, (9) that knows where anyone will be born in his future births, and (10) that knows how the results of *karma* may be overcome (*vide* Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 380).

and sundry other of his possessions. But in a few days the royal robes and the most valuable of the jewels were again given away in charity.

The Master of the Law now went to take leave of the king, preparatory to setting out on his homeward journey. "I, your humble disciple," said the king, "have been hoping, with you, to unfold and spread abroad the Law bequeathed to us by the Buddha. Why must the venerable Master depart so suddenly?"

Kumara Raja likewise manifested his devotion and affection. "Master," he said, "if you will stay with your disciple and receive his homage, he will deem it his duty to build a hundred monasteries in your honour."

Hiouen Thsang postponed his departure for ten days. Then, perceiving that the two kings were bent upon keeping him with them, he told them all the anxiety that was in his heart. "China, my country, is far away," he said. "The sublime Law is as yet new to her people,[1] and its principles are not yet fully known, or fully accepted. It was for this reason that I came to seek instruction in other

[1] Hiouen Thsang is apparently referring to the Law as interpreted by the Mahayanists. Buddhism had long been established in China. In the *Review*, quoted on page 24, Max Müller states that one Buddhist missionary "is mentioned in the Chinese annals as early as 217 B.C.; and about the year 120 B.C. a Chinese general, after defeating the barbarous tribes north of the desert of Gobi, brought back as a trophy a golden statue —the statue of Buddha. It was not, however, till the year 65 A.D. that Buddhism was officially recognised by the Emperor Ming-ti as the third state religion in China."

lands. And if I am now anxious to return, it is because my brother teachers are crying to me from their hearts for enlightenment. I cannot longer delay, remembering what is written in the sacred books: 'Whoever shall hide the Law from men shall be struck with blindness in all his existences.' Moreover, you, by detaining me, may cause many people to be deprived of the knowledge of the Law. Is it, therefore, not to be feared that you may be overtaken by blindness?"

"Master," replied the king, "your disciple holds your virtues in such high estimation that he desires to look upon you and serve you always. But if I should stand in the way of the happiness of a multitude of men, my heart would indeed be a prey to fear. I leave you free, then, either to go or to remain. I know not by what route you propose to travel, if go you must; but if your journey lies across the Southern Sea, my envoys shall accompany you."

"Sire," said the Master of the Law, "when I crossed the western frontier of China, the first kingdom I entered was Kaotchang. The ruler of that kingdom is an enlightened and zealous follower of the Law. When he learnt that I was journeying in search of instruction in the true doctrine, he expressed great joy, and abundantly supplied all my needs. He also begged me to visit him again on my way back to China. To comply with his request is a duty which my heart will not allow me to

neglect ; and my journey must therefore be by the northern route."

"Tell me," said the king, "all that you need in the way of provisions."

"I have need of nothing," replied the Master of the Law.

"I cannot let you depart thus," said the king ; and he straightway gave orders that the Master should be amply supplied both with raiment and with money. Kumara Raja also offered him many valuable things. But Hiouen Thsang would accept nothing at their hands except a single *harali*, or woollen shawl, which Kumara Raja provided as a protection against rain and cold.

Hiouen Thsang now took leave of them and set forth on his journey. For some miles the two kings, with numerous attendants, kept him company, and then, with tears of sorrow, bade him farewell.

The Master of the Law entrusted his books and images to a king of northern India, named Oudhita, to be transported by short stages on horses and in military carts. Afterwards, Siladitya furnished Oudhita with a big elephant, as well as three thousand pieces of gold and ten thousand pieces of silver, for the expenses of the journey of the Master of the Law.

Three days after Hiouen Thsang's departure, the kings Siladitya, Kumara, Dhruvapata, and others, taking with them a band of horsemen, set out a second time to escort him and bid him farewell ; such was the affection and esteem in which they

held him. This was not all. Siladitya, in addition, sent with him four official guides, known as *mahataras*. He wrote letters on pieces of white linen, and having sealed them with red wax, ordered the guides to conduct the Master of the Law, and to present the letters in all the kingdoms through which he passed, in order that each prince in succession might furnish him with carts until he had been conducted to the borders of China.[1]

[1] Hiouen Thsang returned to China in 645 A.D. In addition to 150 relics of the Buddha, and numerous statues and images, he took back with him 657 volumes of manuscript dealing with the various philosophic schools. On reaching his native land, he retired to a convent, and spent the remainder of his life, partly in lecturing and in writing his *Memoirs*, but mainly in translating into Chinese the works which he had collected during his travels. Assisted by a staff of monks, he completed the translation of seventy-four of these before his death, which took place in 664 A.D.

III

VIJAYANAGAR IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(Abdur Razzak) [1]

The kingdom of Vijayanagar was remarkable alike for the phenomenal rapidity of its growth, and the suddenness and completeness of its downfall. It was founded by Harihara Deva I., the chief of Anegundi, who built, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra, and immediately opposite to his former capital, the far-famed city of Vijayanagar. A hundred years later, the Persian traveller, Abdur Razzak, describes the ruler of this kingdom as " lord of all Southern India, from sea to sea and from the Dakhan to Cape Comorin."

" There was," says Sewell, in *A Forgotten Empire*, " no miracle in this. It was the natural result of the persistent efforts made

[1] Kamal-ud-din Abdur Razzak was born at Hirat in 1413. In 1437 he entered the service of Sultan Shah Rukh, and five years later was despatched on a mission to India. After visiting Hormuz and Muscat, he reached the port of Calicut in November 1442. Here he remained till the following April, when he set out for Vijayanagar, which place he reached after a journey of thirty days. He stayed at the Hindu capital for six months, setting out on his return journey to Persia at the beginning of December 1443. After thirty years in the Imperial service, Abdur Razzak was, in the reign of Sultan Abu Said, placed in charge of the Khankah, or monastery, of Mirza Shah Rukh, a post which he held till his death ten years later.

The merits of Abdur Razzak's *Matlau-s Sadain*, a history of Timur and his descendants from 1304 to 1470, have been generally acknowledged. The French orientalist, M. Quatremére, who

by the Muhammadans to conquer all India. When these dreaded inroads reached the Krishna river the Hindus to their south, stricken with fear, combined, and gathered in haste to the new standard which alone seemed to offer some hope of protection. The decayed old states crumbled away into nothingness, and the fighting kings of Vijayanagar became the saviours of the south for two and a half centuries. . . . Its rulers in their day swayed the destinies of an empire far larger than Austria, and the city is declared by a succession of European visitors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to have been marvellous for size and prosperity—a city with which, for richness and magnificence, no known western capital could compare. Its importance is shewn by the fact that almost all the struggles of the Portuguese on the western coast were carried on for the purpose of securing its maritime trade ; and that when the empire fell in 1565, the prosperity of Portuguese Goa fell with it, never to rise again." The kingdom of Vijayanagar was destroyed by a combination against it of the Muhammadan rulers of the Deccan. But though the battle of Talikota completely destroyed the Hindu monarchy, many of the local chiefs were able, largely through the mutual jealousies of the victors, to retain possession of their holdings, and from these chiefs the Polygars of the Madras Presidency are descended.

When Abdur Razzak visited Vijayanagar, Deva Raya II., the seventh in succession from Harihara Deva, was on the throne. This king reigned from 1419 to 1444 (the dates are those given by Sewell, and should be regarded as approximate only) ; but beyond the fact that he engaged in sundry wars with the Muhammadan powers of the north, history has little to tell us of the nature of his government, or the events of his reign.

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made a French translation of a considerable portion of the work, describes it as "incontestably one of the most curious and veracious histories that have been written in any of the Eastern languages." English translations of the portions of the *Matlau-s Sadain* relating to the author's travels in India are to be found in R. H. Major's *India in the Fifteenth Century*, and in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. iv. In the passage (or rather collection of passages) here reproduced, the text of the latter version has been followed. Major's translation was made from the French of M. Quatremére.

When I disembarked at Kalikot, I saw a tribe of people the like of which had never entered my dreams. The blacks of this country go about with nearly naked bodies, wearing only pieces of cloth called *langots*, extending from their navels to above their knees. In one hand they bear a Hindi dagger bright as a drop of water, and in the other a shield made of cow's hide, large as a portion of cloud. The king and the beggar both go about in this way, but the Mussalmans clothe themselves in costly garments, like the Arabs, and display various kinds of luxuries.

I had interviews with several Mussalmans and a crowd of infidels, and a convenient lodging was assigned to me, and after three days they took me to see the king. I saw a man with his body naked, like the other Hindus. They call the king of that place Samuri,[1] and when he dies, they place on the throne his sister's son, and do not bestow it upon his son, his brother, or his other relatives.[2] No one

[1] The word Zamorin is, according to Logan (*Malabar*, iii. Glos.), a corruption of the Sanskrit *samuri*, or more correctly, *samudri*, which is a translation of the Malayalam *kunnalakkon*, that is, King (kon) of the hills (kunnu) and waves (ala). Mr. J. A. Thorne derives it from the Sanskrit words *Srami* and *Sri*, and regards it as a grandiloquent term for 'lord' (see *Duarte Barbosa*, Hak. Soc. vol. ii. pp. 260-2).

[2] This was in accordance with the Malabar law of inheritance, known as *marumakkattayam*, or 'sister's son's inheritance,' which prevailed, and still prevails in a slightly modified form, amongst the Nayars and certain other Hindu communities of the Malabar coast. Each of these communities consists of a collection of family 'groups,' which are termed *tarawads*.

becomes king by force of arms. The infidels are of various tribes, Brahmans, *yogis*, and others, who all alike participate in plural-worship and idol-worship. Every tribe has its peculiar customs.

Among them is a tribe in which one woman has several husbands, of which each one engages in a separate occupation. They divide the hours of the night and day amongst themselves, and as long as one of them remains in the house during his appointed time, no other one can enter.[1] The Samuri is of that tribe.

The gencalogical head of a *tarawad* is a woman, and its members are those who trace their descent, through the female line only, to this common ancestress. In every 'group' a certain amount of money is set apart for the common use, and constitutes the *tarawad* fund, in which every member, irrespective of his or her private means, is an equal share-holder. The children of a male member do not belong to their father's *tarawad* ; they can claim no share of the family fund, nor do they inherit their father's personal possessions, which on his death become the property of the *tarawad*. Until quite recent times, the only way in which a father could make provision for his children was by making over his private property to them by deed of gift during his own life-time. In former days, when polyandry prevailed, and no father could, with any certainty, identify his own children, this system worked well enough ; but the development of paternal instincts and the realisation of paternal responsibilities naturally followed the disappearance of polyandry ; and to fathers of families, anxious that their children should one day partake of the fruits of their labours, the restrictions of *marumakkattayam* became a matter of very serious concern. At the end of the last century, however, this disability was removed, or at any rate materially diminished, by the passing of the Malabar Wills Act, which legalised the testamentary disposal of private property.

[1] The people here referred to are the Nayars, then the fighting aristocracy of Malabar, and still the leading community in the

When I had my audience with the Samuri, the assembly consisted of two thousand or three thousand Hindus, clad in the manner above mentioned, and the chief Mussalmans were also there. After they had made me sit down, they read the letter of

province. Though of the Sudra denomination, the Nayars wear the sacred thread of the twice-born, and take rank next to Brahmans. The Rajas of Calicut and Travancore are both of this class. A polyandric system of marriage prevailed amongst the Nayars from very early times; the custom is still, so to speak, on the statute-book; but it has for many years been condemned by public opinion, and is now, to all intents and purposes, obsolete. In former days, a Nayar woman was frequently allied to as many as four husbands, who cohabited with her in turns. According to the traveller Hamilton, who went to Malabar at the end of the seventeenth century, the husband *pro. tem.* "left his arms at the door, and no man dared remove them on pain of death." Despite such bellicose demonstrations, however, the arrangement seems to have worked with astonishingly little friction. Barbosa, who wrote with an intimate knowledge of the people, language, and customs of the country, gives a full account of the system as practised in the early part of the sixteenth century, and thus describes the relation in which the husbands stood to one another, and to the lady whose favours they shared: "Each one of them passes a day with her, from midday on one day till midday on the next day, and so they continue living quietly without any disturbance or quarrels among them. If any of them wishes to leave her, he leaves her, and takes another, and she also if she is weary of a man, she tells him to go, and he does so, or makes terms with her. Any children they may have stay with the mother, who has to bring them up, for they hold them not to be the children of any man, even if they bear his likeness, and they do not consider them their children, nor are they heirs to their estates, for as I have already stated their heirs are their nephews, sons of their sisters, which rule whosoever will consider inwardly in his mind will find that it was established with a greater and deeper meaning than the common folk think, for they say that the kings of the Nayres

credentials sent by His Majesty, the Khakan-i Said,[1] and the presents which I had brought were displayed. The Samuri paid but little respect to my embassy, so leaving the court I returned home.

From the close of Jumadi-ul-akhir to the beginning of Zi-hijja (*i.e.* for about five months),[2] I remained in that wretched place, a comrade of trouble and a companion of sorrow. In the middle of it, during one night of profound darkness and weary length, in which sleep, as an imperious tyrant, captivated my senses and closed the door of my eyelids, after all kinds of troubles, I was sleeping on my bed of repose, when I saw in a dream His Majesty the

instituted it in order that the Nayres should not be held back from their service by the burden and labour of rearing children'' (*Barbosa*, ii. pp. 42-4). Shaikh Zin-ud-din, the author of the *Tuhfut-ul-Mujahidin*, a general account of Malabar up to the end of the sixteenth century, bears similar testimony to the peaceful nature of these alliances. "It is seldom," he observes, "that any hostility or disagreement takes place between the men in consequence of their possession in common of the same female."

[1] This is a Turki word signifying 'emperor.' The title was generally reserved for the rulers of China and Chinese Tartary. Sultan Shah Rukh ascended the throne of Persia in 1408, being then the last surviving son of Timur. Having none of his father's lust for conquest, he devoted himself to the administration of his dominions, and to the cultivation of friendly relations with other powers. His reign covered a period of nearly forty years, in the course of which he did much to advance the civilisation and prosperity of his people. He died in 1446, leaving behind him the reputation of a "brave, generous, and enlightened ruler."

[2] Abdur Razzak reached Calicut some time in November 1442, and remained there till the end of April of the following year, when he set out for Vijayanagar. He left the latter place early in December 1443.

Khakan, who advanced towards me with all the pomp of sovereignty, and arriving near me, said: "Cease to trouble yourself."

In the morning, after saying my prayers, the dream recurred to my mind and made me happy. I reflected within myself that probably a morning of good fortune would arise, from the day-spring of the mercy of God, and that the night of vexation and sorrow would come to an end. Having communicated my dream to some clever men, I was demanding from them the interpretation of it, when suddenly some one arrived, and brought intelligence that the King of Bijanagar,[1] who possessed a large kingdom and an important sovereignty, had sent a herald with a letter addressed to the Samuri,

[1] The word Vijayanagar is derived from the Sanskrit *vijay*, 'victory,' and means 'City of Victory.' The spurious derivation from *vidya*, 'learning,' is based on the popular legend of the founding of the city. This is given at length in the *Chronicle* of Nuniz, and is thus summarised by Sewell: "This chief (Harihara Deva) was one day hunting amongst the mountains south of the river when a hare, instead of fleeing from his dogs, flew at them and bit them. The king, astonished at this marvel, was returning home lost in meditation, when he met on the river bank the sage Madhava-charya, surnamed *Vidyaranya* or 'Forest of Learning,' who advised the chief to found a city on the spot. And so the king did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about; and that done he left Nagundym, and soon filled the city with people. And he gave it the name Vydiajuna, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it." The Portuguese called the city Bisanagar, and the empire of which it was the capital, the empire of Narsingha, from the name of the king who ruled when they first came to India at the end of the fifteenth century.

desiring that the ambassador of His Majesty the Khakan-i Said should be instantly sent to him. Although the Samuri is not under his authority, nevertheless, he is in great alarm and apprehension from him, for it is said, that the King of Bijanagar has three hundred seaports, every one of which is equal to Kalikot, and that inland his cities and provinces extend over a journey of three months.

Kalikot,[1] and certain other ports along the coast as far as Kail, which is opposite Sarandip, also

[1] A previous passage in the *Matlau-s Sadain* enables us to form an idea of the commercial importance of Calicut in the fifteenth century. Merchants from "every city and every country" were to be found there. "Here also one finds in abundance rarities brought from maritime countries, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, and Zanzibar. From time to time ships arrive from the direction of the House of God (Mecca), and other parts of Hijjaz, and remain at will for some time in this port. . . . Such security and justice reign in that city that rich merchants bring to it cargoes of merchandise, which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market-places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one's charge, or placing it under a guard. The officers of the custom-house have it under their protection, and night and day keep guard round it. If it is sold they take a custom duty of two and a half per cent., otherwise they offer no kind of interference. It is a practice at other ports, that if any vessel be consigned to any particular mart, and unfortunately by the decree of the Almighty it be driven to any other than that to which it is destined, under the plea that it is sent by the winds, the people plunder it; but at Kalikot every vessel, wheresoever it comes from, and whichever way it arrives, is treated like any other, and no sort of trouble is experienced by it."

It is clear, however, from Abdur Razzak's account, that the Zamorin at this time stood in considerable awe of his powerful

called Silan, are situated in a province called Malibar. Ships which depart from Kalikot to the blessed Mecca (God preserve it in honour and power !) are generally laden with pepper. The men of Kalikot are bold navigators, and are known by the name of 'sons of China.' [1] The pirates of the sea do not molest the ships of Kalikot, and everything is procurable in that port, with this sole exception that you cannot kill cows and eat their flesh. Should any one be known to have killed a cow, his life would infallibly be sacrificed. The cow is held in such respect, that

neighbour. Barbosa was no doubt right in attributing the continued independence of the Malabar kingdoms to the protection afforded them by the Western Ghats. "Beyond these mountains on the further side the land is flat and level, while from the hither side, so difficult is the ascent that it is like mounting to the sky, and so rough is it that men can only pass through it by certain places and passes; wherefore the kings of Malabar are so independent, for had these mountains not stood in his way, the King of Narsyngua would ere now have subdued them."

[1] Elliot's note is as follows: "Apparently a compliment to Chinese navigation. In former days many Chinese resorted to these parts, and established even their permanent residence in them. P. Baldaeus speaks of 'the Chinese inhabiting Cochin, being very dextrous at catching fish' (Churchill's *Collection*. vol. iii. p. 571). When John Deza destroyed the Zamorin's fleet, it was commanded by Cutiale, a Chinese admiral (Marsden's *Marco Polo*, note 1372)." When Marco Polo passed up the West Coast in 1292-3, the Chinese appear to have carried on extensive trade with Malabar. "Ships," we read, "come here from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi (China). Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the west . . . but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one to ten of those that go eastward." See the *Gazetteer of the Malabar District*, 1908, p. 38.

they rub the ashes of its dung upon the forehead,—the curse of God upon them!

This humble individual having taken his leave, departed from Kalikot, and passing by the seaport of Bandana which is on the Malibar coast, arrived at the port of Mangalur, which is on the borders of the kingdom of Bijanagar. Having remained there three days, he departed by dry land, and at the close of the month Zi-hijja arrived at the city of Bijanagar. The king sent out a party to escort us, and we were brought to a pleasant and suitable abode.

Here the writer saw a city exceedingly large and populous, and a king of great power and dominion, whose kingdom extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal to Malibar, a space of more than a thousand *parasangs*. The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile, and about three hundred good seaports belong to it. There are more than a thousand elephants, lofty as the hills and gigantic as demons. The army consists of eleven *lacs* of men.[1] In the whole of

[1] This high figure is supported by the testimony of several other writers. The Italian, Nicolo Conti, who was at Vijayanagar shortly before Abdur Razzak, and who is the first European known to have visited the city, speaks of "a million men and upwards." Domingo Paes, who wrote in the early part of the sixteenth century, says: "Now I desire you to know that this king has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 25,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay, and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter wheresoever may be necessary." Nuniz gives the details

Hindustan there is no *rai* more absolute than himself, under which denomination the kings of the country are known. The Brahmans are held by him in higher estimation than all other men.

The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth.[1] It is built so that it has seven

of a force of over a million men that marched to attack Raichur in 1520. On the other hand, Duarte Barbosa, a writer of acknowledged reliability, and one who had exceptional opportunities of gaining accurate information, gives us an estimate which is little more than a tenth of that of Paes for the same period. "Between both horse and foot," he says, "the King of Narsyngua has more than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay." In reference to the larger estimates, Sewell remarks: "It must be remembered that every host contained an enormous number of camp followers, to say nothing of thousands of courtezans, all of whom were included in the totals." This is doubtless true of armies actually on the march; but Conti, Razzak, and Paes evidently refer to the number of fighting men which the king had at his disposal. It is very probable, however, that they based their estimates on what they had been told of armies in the field, when the fighting troops would be far outnumbered by the followers. Of the latter, the courtezans formed but a small proportion. Barbosa puts their number at five or six thousand. These, he tells us, the king "pays to march in his train, and wheresoever he wishes to make war he distributes them according to the number of men whom he sends forth, and he says that war cannot be waged where there are no women. These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances."

[1] The city was built on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra, opposite to the old citadel of Anegundi, which was included within the limits of the new capital. Abdur Razzak must have approached the city from the south-west and entered by the gate in the outer wall two miles south-west of Hospet, which place was also included in the capital, being just within the second line of defence.

fortified walls, one within the other. Beyond the circuit of the outer wall there is an esplanade extending for about fifty yards, in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man ; one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold, can advance with facility near the outer wall.[1]

The fortress is in the form of a circle, situated on the summit of a hill, and is made of stone and mortar, with strong gates, where guards are always posted, who are very diligent in the collection of taxes [2] (jizyat).

The seventh fortress [3] is placed in the centre of the others, and occupies ground ten times larger than the market of Hirat. In that is situated the palace of the king. From the northern gate of the outer fortress to the southern is a distance of two statute

[1] Domingo Paes also refers to these stones : " And there is separate from it (the outer wall), yet another defence made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast ; they are in breadth a lance-shaft and a half, with the same distance between them and the great wall."

[2] " This system of collecting octroi dues at the gates of the principal towns lasted till recent days, having only been abolished by the British Government" (Sewell).

[3] Sewell says the great wall surrounding the seventh or inner fortress is still to be seen in fairly good preservation north of the village of Kamalapur. " This last surrounded the palace and government buildings, the space enclosed measuring roughly a mile from north to south and two and a quarter miles from east to west."

parasangs,[1] and the same with respect to the eastern and western gates. Between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens, and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. By the palace of the king there are four bazaars, situated opposite to one another. To the north of these lies the imperial palace or abode of the Rai. At the head of each bazaar, there is a lofty arcade and magnificent gallery, but the palace of the king is loftier than all of them. The bazaars are very broad and long, so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides. Sweet-scented flowers are always procurable fresh in that city, and they are considered as even necessary sustenance, seeing that without them they could not exist. The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another. The jewellers sell their rubies and pearls and diamonds and emeralds openly in the bazaar.

In this charming area, in which the palace of the king is contained, there are many rivulets and streams flowing through channels of cut stone, polished and even.[2] On the right hand of the palace of the Sultan

[1] Two *parasangs* were equivalent to about seven miles. "It was," Sewell says, "actually eight miles if measured from the extreme south point of the first line of defence northwards to the river. Razzak evidently did not include the walls of Anegundi, the northern lines of which lie two miles further still to the north."

[2] "Remains of these are still to be seen not far from the 'Ladies' Bath.' There was a long trough that conveyed the water,

there is the *diwan-khana*, or minister's office, which is extremely large, and presents the appearance of a *chihal-sutun*,[1] or forty-pillared hall; and in front of it there runs a raised gallery, higher than the stature of a man, thirty yards long and six broad, where the records are kept and the scribes seated. These people have two kinds of writing, one upon a leaf of the Hindi nut (cocoa-nut), which is two yards long, and two digits broad, on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters possess no colour, and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface, and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.[2]

and on each side were depressions which may have been hollowed for the reception of round vessels of different sizes, intended to hold water for household use" (*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 91).

[1] *Chihal-sutun* (the forty pillars) was the name given to the ruined city of Persepolis. It was afterwards used of any pillared pavilion, or palace.

[2] This mode of writing is still practised on the west coast. It is thus referred to by Barbosa, who was at Calicut at the beginning of the sixteenth century: "The King of Calicut continually keeps a multitude of writers in his palace, who sit in a corner far from him; they write upon a raised platform everything connected with the king's exchequer and with the justice and governance of the realm. They write on long and stiff palm leaves, with an iron style without ink; they make their letters in incised strokes, like ours, and the straight lines as we do. Each of these men carries with him whithersoever he goes a sheaf of these written leaves under his arm, and the iron style in his hand, and by this they may be recognised. And there are seven or eight more, the king's private writers, men held in great

In the middle of the pillared hall a eunuch, called a *Danaik*, sits alone upon a raised platform, and presides over the administration ; and below it the mace-bearers stand, drawn up in a row on each side. Whoever has any business to transact advances between the lines of mace-bearers, offers some trifling present, places his face upon the ground, and standing upon his legs again, represents his grievance. Upon this, the *Danaik* issues orders founded upon the rules of justice prevalent in that country, and no other person has any power of remonstrance. When the *Danaik* leaves the chamber, several coloured umbrellas are borne before him, and trumpets are sounded, and on both sides of his way panegyrists pronounce benedictions upon him. Before he reaches the king he has to pass through seven gates, at which porters are seated, and as the *Danaik* arrives at each door an umbrella is left behind, so that on reaching the seventh gate the *Danaik* enters alone. He reports upon the affairs of the state to the king, and, after remaining some

esteem, who stand always before the king with their styles in their hands, and the bundle of leaves under their arms. Each one of them has a number of these leaves in blank, sealed by the king at the top. And when the king desires to give or to do anything as to which he has to provide, he tells his wishes to each of these men, and they write it down from the royal seal to the bottom, and thus the order is given to whomsoever it concerns. These men are old and much respected, and trusted." The office of writer to the Zamorin was hereditary, and the holders received the title *Menon*, which is still borne by their descendants. See *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ii. p. 18.

time, returns. His residence lies behind the palace of the king.

On the left of the palace of the king there is the mint, where they stamp three different kinds of gold coins, mixed with an alloy. One is called *varaha*,[1] and weighs about one *miskal*, equal to two *kopaki dinars*. The second kind is called *partab*, and is equal to half of the first. The third is called *fanam*, and is equal to the tenth of a *partab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver, they make

[1] The *varaha*, so called from the image of a boar (*varah*) which was stamped on it, was a coin equal in value to the *hun*, or pagoda. The ordinary Persian *miskal* was equal to about 73 grs. troy, but its value varied at different times; Tavernier reckoned it at 83 grs. It originally represented the weight of a single gold *dinar*. The *kopaki*, or *kopeki dinar*, was the name of a coin in use in the reigns of Timur and the earlier Mogul emperors. The *kopeki dinar* current in Tartary in Timur's day was probably the same as the Russian copeck. The *partab*, or more correctly *pardao*, was also, in most parts of India, reckoned as equivalent to a pagoda. In Vijayanagar, however, it appears to have been worth only half that amount; unless, as Yule suggests, we suppose Abdur Razzak's *varaha* to be the double pagoda, a coin at one time current in south India. The *jital* (approximately 1 *pice*), the *tar*, and the *fanam* are all now obsolete coins. The last named may, however, still be met with on the west coast of the peninsula, and, according to Yule, *fanams* were accepted at the Malabar treasuries as late as the year 1862. "As the coins were very small, they used to be counted by means of a small board or dish having a large number of holes or pits. On this a pile of *fanams* was shaken, and then swept off, leaving the holes filled." According to the author of the *Roteiro*, fifty *fanams* were equal to three *crusados* (roughly, three rupees). (See Yule's valuable account of Indian moneys, which will be found under the word *pardao*, in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*.)

a coin equal to the sixth of a *fanam*, which they call *tar*, which is also in great use. The third of a *tar* is a copper coin, called *jital*. The usage of the country is that, at a stated period, every one throughout the whole empire carries to the mint the revenue (*zar*) which is due from him, and whoever has money due to him from the exchequer receives an order upon the mint. The *sipahis* receive their pay every four months, and no one has an assignment granted to him upon the revenues of the provinces.

This country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers, with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists, and fingers.

Opposite the minister's office are the elephant sheds. The king has many elephants in the country, but the large ones are specially reserved for the palace. Between the first and second *enceinte* of the city, and between the northern and western faces, the breeding of elephants takes place, and it is there the young ones are produced. The king has a white elephant, exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour.

Every morning the animal is brought into the presence of the monarch ; for to cast eye upon him

is thought a favourable omen. The palace elephants are fed on *kichu*, which, after being cooked, is turned out from the cauldron before the elephant, and after being sprinkled with salt and moist sugar, is made into a mass, and then balls of about two *mans* [1] each are dipped in butter, and are then placed by the keepers in the mouths of the animals. If any of these ingredients is forgotten, the elephant is ready to kill his keeper, and the king also severely punishes his negligence. They are fed twice a day in this way. Each has a separate stall; the walls are very strong and high, and are covered with strong wood. The chains on the necks and backs of the elephants are firmly attached to the beams above; if the chains were bound any other way,

[1] The word *man*, now usually written 'maund,' signifying a measure of weight, has been current in western Asia from very early times. The actual weight signified depends on the period and the locality under reference, and may be anything from two pounds to a hundred. In most parts of India to-day, a 'maund' is reckoned to be approximately 82 lbs. In Akbar's reign it was 56 lbs., and when Thevenot visited India late in the seventeenth century it was 40 lbs. The Tabriz 'maund' was just under 7, and the Jeddah 'maund' just over 2 lbs. Unless Abdur Razzak grossly exaggerates the size of the *bonne-bouches* administered to the royal elephants, the Vijayanagar 'maund' in the fifteenth century must have been at least as small as the Jeddah variety. It is true that a full-grown elephant with a healthy appetite will contrive to 'put away' from five to six hundred pounds of food in the course of a day; but he is no vulgar glutton, and prefers not to put more than two, or at the outside three, pounds of cake into his mouth at once. Abdur Razzak's list of the provisions supplied daily to his household also points to something like a 3 lb. limit. Or it is possible that he used the word *man* where he ought to have used the word *ser*?

the elephants would easily detach themselves. Chains are also bound upon the forelegs.

The manner in which they catch the elephants is this : they dig a pit in the way by which the animal usually goes to drink, which they cover over lightly. When the elephant falls into it, no man is allowed to go near the animal for two or three days ; at the end of that period, a man comes up and strikes him several hard blows with a bludgeon, when suddenly another man appears and drives off the striker, and seizing the bludgeon, throws it away. He then retires, after placing some forage before the elephant. This practice is repeated for several days ; the first lays on the blows, and the second drives him away, until the animal begins to have a liking for his protector, who by degrees approaches the animal, and places before it the fruits which elephants are partial to, and scratches and rubs the animal, until by kind treatment he becomes tame, and submits his neck to the chain.

The kings of Hindustan go out hunting elephants, and remain a month or more in the jungles, and when they capture elephants, they rejoice at their success. Sometimes they order criminals to be cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunk, and tusks. Merchants carry elephants from Silan to different countries, and sell them according to their height, so much more being demanded for each additional yard.

The author of this history, who arrived at Bijanagar at the close of Zi-hijja, took up his abode in a lofty mansion which had been assigned to him, resembling that which one sees in Hirat on the high ground at the King's Gate. Here he reposed himself after the fatigues of the journey for several days, and passed under happy auspices the first day of the new moon of Muharram in that splendid and beautiful abode.

One day messengers came from the king to summon me, and towards the evening I went to the court, and presented five beautiful horses and two trays, each containing nine [1] pieces of damask and satin. The king was seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall, and a great crowd of Brahmans and others stood on the right and left of him. He was clothed in a robe of *zaitun* [2] satin, and he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate. He was of an olive colour, of a spare body, and rather tall. He was exceedingly young,[3] for there was only some slight down upon

[1] *Vide* note, p. 74.

[2] Zaitun, from which the word satin is probably derived, was the ancient name of Chinchew, a seaport of Fokien, well known to western traders in medieval days. Ibn Batuta visited this city, which he describes as very great and superb; "and in it they make damasks of velvet as well as those of satin, which are called from the name of the city *zaitunia*" (see Yule's *Glossary*).

[3] This statement has given rise to much speculation; for Deva Raya II. had been a king at least twenty-three years when Abdur Razzak saw him. Sewell goes so far as to suggest that

his cheeks, and none upon his chin. His whole appearance was very prepossessing. On being presented to him, I bowed down my head. He received me kindly, and seated me near him, and, taking the august letter of the emperor,[1] made it over to the interpreters, and said: "My heart is exceedingly glad that the great king has sent an ambassador to

perhaps the Persian ambassador never saw the king at all, but only one of the royal princes. "The king," he says, "appears to have been in doubt as to whether the traveller was not an impostor in representing himself as an envoy from Persia, and may have refrained from granting him a personal interview." This, however, is an extremely improbable theory; for Abdur Razzak tells us that the king used to summon him to his presence twice a week, and that on several occasions he met and conversed with his Majesty "on the road." Another suggestion is that Deva Raya II. ascended the throne in his infancy. This is possible; but from the little we know of his reign, it seems improbable. An obvious way out of the difficulty is to suppose that Deva Raya II. was an exceedingly young looking man for his age; the supposition, at any rate, has nothing wildly improbable about it.

[1] Elliot has the following note here: "As the author's embassy was to Calicut, and not to Bijanagar, it does not appear how he became possessed of this letter specially addressed to a place which was not the object of his destination. We shall see subsequently that his enemies, while they deny that he was accredited by the Khakan, nevertheless do not dispute that he was the bearer of a letter from that monarch." This seems to be creating an unnecessary difficulty. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that Abdur Razzak, on his departure for India, was furnished with a letter to the King of Vijayanagar, to be delivered in the event of his being able to reach that ruler's court. If that was so, it would be natural that Abdur Razzak should, on reaching Calicut, take steps to acquaint the King of Vijayanagar of his arrival in India and of his desire to present his master's letter.

me." As I was in a profuse perspiration from the excessive heat and the quantity of clothes which I had on me, the monarch took compassion on me, and favoured me with a fan of Khatai which he held in his hand. They then brought a tray, and gave me two packets of betel, a purse containing 500 *fanams*, and about 20 *miskals* of camphor, and obtaining leave to depart, I returned to my lodging. The daily provision forwarded to me comprised two sheep, four couple of fowls, five *mans* of rice, one *man* of butter, one *man* of sugar, and two *varahas* in gold. This occurred every day. Twice a week I was summoned to the presence towards the evening, when the king asked me several questions respecting the Khakan-i Said, and each time I received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanams*, and some *miskals* of camphor. The monarch addressed us through his interpreter, and said : "Your kings feast ambassadors and place dishes before them, but as I and you cannot eat together, this purse of gold represents the repast of an ambassador."

At the time that the writer of this history was detained at the city of Kalikot, an extraordinary circumstance and singular transaction occurred in the city of Bijanagar. The details are these. The brother of the king had constructed a new house, and invited the king and the nobles of state to an entertainment. The custom of the infidels is not to eat in the presence of one another. The guests were seated in a large hall, and, from time to time,

the host, or some one that he sent, invited one of the nobles to come forward and partake of the viands prepared for him. He had taken care to collect together all the drums, trumpets, and horns in the city, which were beaten and blown together with great dissonance. As each guest was summoned and conducted to the proper apartment, two assassins advanced from the place of their concealment behind the door, and, wounding him with a dagger, cut him to pieces. When his remains were carried off, another one was summoned and treated in like manner, and whoever entered that slaughter-house was never heard of more, for he became like a traveller on the road to eternity ; and the tongue of fortune addressed the murdered man in these words—" You will never return ; having gone, you have gone for ever."

From the noise of the drums and the clangour and the tumult, not a soul knew what had occurred, except a few who were in the secret ; and in this way every one who had a name and position in the state was murdered. While the assembly was yet reeking with the blood of its victims, the murderer went to the palace of the king, and, addressing the guards with flattering language, invited them also to the entertainment, and sent them to follow the others ; and thus, having denuded the palace of the guards, he advanced to the king, bearing in his hand a tray of betel, in which there was a brilliant dagger concealed beneath the leaves, and thus addressed

the monarch: "The entertainment is prepared, and only awaits your august presence." The monarch, according to the saying, 'powerful princes are divinely inspired,' said that he was indisposed, and begged that his attendance might be excused.

When this unnatural brother despaired of the king's attendance, he drew forth the poignard, and wounded him several times severely, so that the monarch fell down behind the throne; and the perfidious wretch, believing that he was dead, left one of his myrmidons behind to cut off the king's head. He himself rushed out of the portico of the palace, and exclaimed: "I have killed the king, his brothers, the nobles, the ministers, and the other chiefs, and I am now your king." But when the bravo advanced to fulfil his murderous orders, the king, seizing the seat behind which he had fallen, dealt with it such a blow upon the breast of the villain, that it felled him to the ground, and, assisted by one of his guards, who in alarm had concealed himself in a corner, put him to death, and ran out of the chamber by way of the female apartments. While his brother, seated at the head of the tribunal of justice, was inviting the people to recognise him as their sovereign, the king himself came forward and exclaimed: "Behold, I am alive and safe; seize the assassin." The multitude immediately bore him down and slew him. The king then summoned to his presence his other brothers, and all the nobles; but every one had been slain except the minister,

the *Danaik*, who, previous to this dreadful tragedy, had gone to Silan. A courier was despatched to summon him, and inform him of what had transpired. All those who had been concerned in the plot were either flayed alive, or burnt to death, or destroyed in some other fashion, and their families were altogether exterminated. The person who had brought the invitation was also put to death. When the *Danaik* had returned from his tour, and had become acquainted with all that had transpired, he was astounded, and after being admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet, he offered up his thanks for the safety of the king's person, and made more than usual preparations to celebrate the festival of *Mahanawi*.[1]

The infidels of this country, who are endowed with power, are fond of displaying their pride, pomp, power, and glory, in holding every year a stately and magnificent festival, which they call *Mahanawi*. The manner of it is this: the King of Bijanagar directed that his nobles and chiefs should assemble at the royal abode from all the provinces of his country, which extends for the distance of three

[1] The *Mahanavi*, or *Mahanavami*, the Great Ninth, is a festival in honour of the goddess Bhavani, or Durga, the consort of Siva. It is celebrated on the ninth day of the *durga-puja*, which takes place during the 'bright fortnight' of the lunar month Asin, when the moon reaches the full near the head of Aries. The *durga-puja* is a very popular festival, especially in Bengal. It is regarded as a time for family gatherings, the giving of presents, the donning of new clothes, and for general rejoicings and merry-making.

or four months' journey. They brought with them a thousand elephants, tumultuous as the sea, and thundering as the clouds, arrayed in armour, and adorned with howdahs, on which jugglers and throwers of naphtha[1] were seated; and on the foreheads, trunks, and ears of the elephants extraordinary forms and pictures were traced with cinnabar and other pigments.

The chiefs of the army and the powerful men of each province, and the wise Brahmans and the demon-like elephants, were assembled at the court of the ruler of the world at the appointed time, which was at the full moon[2] of Rajab, on a broad plain. This wonderful expanse of ground, from the numbers of people and the huge elephants, resembled the waves of the green sea, and the myriads which will appear on the Plains of the Resurrection.

On that beautiful plain were raised enchanting pavilions of from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures that the imagination can conceive, of men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste. Some of these pavilions were so constructed that they revolved, and every

[1] Probably something in the nature of crackers. The Persian word *naft* (naphtha) is used for any kind of explosive. A display of fireworks is called *naft-andazi*.

[2] If this means that the feast which Abdur Razzak saw commenced with the full moon, it cannot have been the *durga-puja* (see *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 85-6).

moment offered a different face to the view. Every instant each stage and each chamber presented a new and charming sight.

In the front of that plain, a pillared edifice was constructed of nine storeys in height, ornamented with exceeding beauty. The throne of the king was placed on the ninth storey. The place assigned to me was the seventh storey, from which every one was excluded except my own friends. Between this palace and the pavilions there was an open space beautifully laid out, in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts. The singers were for the most part young girls, with cheeks like the moon, and faces more blooming than the spring, adorned with beautiful garments, and displaying figures which ravished the heart like fresh roses. They were seated behind a beautiful curtain, opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was removed on both sides, and the girls began to move their feet with such grace, that wisdom lost its senses, and the soul was intoxicated with delight.

On the third day, when the king was about to leave the scene of the festival, I was carried before the throne of His Majesty. It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art ; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in other parts of the earth. Before the throne was placed a cushion of *zaituni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn. During

the three days the king sat on the throne upon this cushion, and when the celebration of the *Mahanawi* was over, he sent for this humble individual one evening at the time of prayer. On arriving at the palace I saw four stages laid out about ten yards square. The whole roof and walls of the apartment were covered with plates of gold inlaid with jewels. Each of these plates was about the thickness of the back of a sword, and was firmly fixed with nails of gold. On the first stage, the king's royal seat was placed. This was formed of gold, and was of great size. The king sat upon it in state. He asked after His Majesty the Khakan-i Said, his nobles, his armies, the number of his horses, and the peculiarities of the cities, such as Samarkand, Hirat, and Shiraz. He treated me with a kindness which exceeded all bounds, and observed, "I am about to send a certain number of elephants and two *tukuz*[1] of eunuchs, besides other rarities, accompanied by a prudent ambassador, whom I shall despatch to your Sovereign."

In that assembly one of the courtiers asked me, by means of an interpreter, what I thought of the beauty of the four embroidered sofas, implying that such could not be made in our country. I replied that perhaps they might be made equally well there, but that it is not the custom to manufacture such articles. The king approved highly of my reply,

[1] *Tukuz* is a Turki word meaning 'nine,' or, as here, the nine-fold gift offered to a king, the number nine being regarded as sacred.

and ordered that I should receive several bags of *fanams* and betel, and some fruits reserved for his special use.

A set of people from Hormuz, who were residing in the country, when they heard of the kindness of the monarch, and of his intention of sending an ambassador to the Court of the asylum of Sultans, were extremely vexed, and did what they could to destroy this edifice of friendship. From their exceeding turpitude and malevolence, they spread abroad the report that this poor individual was not really accredited by His Majesty, the Khakan-i Said. This assertion reached the ears, not only of the nobles and ministers, but of the king himself, as will be hereafter mentioned. Please God !

About this time the *Danaik*, or minister, who had treated me with the greatest consideration, departed on an expedition to the kingdom of Kulbarga, of which the cause was, that the king of Kulbarga, Sultan Alla-ud-din Ahmad Shah, upon learning the attempted assassination of Deo Rai and the murder of the principal officers of state, was exceedingly rejoiced, and sent an eloquent deputy to deliver this message : " Pay me 700,000 *varahas*, or I will send a world-subduing army into your country, and will extirpate idolatry from its lowest foundations." Deo Rai, the King of Bijanagar, was troubled and angered at this demand, and said, " Since I am alive, what occasion for alarm is there if some servants have been slain ? If a thousand of my

servants should die, what should I be afraid of? In one or two days I can collect a hundred thousand more such as they. When the sun is resplendent, innumerable atoms are visible. If my enemies have conceived that weakness, loss, insecurity, and calamity have fallen upon me, they are mistaken. I am shielded by a powerful and auspicious star, and fortune is favourable to me. Now, let all that my enemy can seize from out my dominions be considered as booty, and made over to his *saiyids* and professors; as for me, all that I can take from his kingdom I will make over to my falconers and brahmans." So on both sides armies were sent into the other's country, and committed great devastation.[1]

The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman *Danaik* a person named Hambah Nurir, who considered himself equal to the *wazir*.

[1] In describing this war, Firishta says that three pitched battles were fought in the space of two months. The general result was evidently favourable to the northern kingdom, for a treaty was made by which Deva Rai engaged to pay the stipulated tribute, provided his territories were not molested. He also paid a considerable sum on account of arrears of tribute, besides making an offer of forty elephants, together with other valuable effects. Alla-ud-din then "honoured the Rai with a handsome dress, and presented him with several horses covered with rich furniture set with jewels." Firishta makes no mention of a plot to assassinate Deva Rai, who, he says, began the war by an unprovoked attack on the Bahmini kingdom, which he ravaged as far as Sagar and Bijapur, before Alla-ud-din could collect an army to oppose him. Firishta, however, wrote more than a century and a half after the event; while Abdur Razzak, a witness of acknowledged repute, was there at the time.

He was diminutive in stature, malignant, low-born, vile, savage, and reprobate. All the most odious qualities were united in him, and he had not a single estimable trait in his composition. When the seat of the administration was polluted by that wretch, he stopped my daily allowance without any cause. The Hormuzians, having found an opportunity of showing their malice, displayed the deviltry which forms the leaven of their disposition; and conformity of vice having ingratiated them with Hambah Nurir, they declared that I was not accredited by His Majesty the Khakan-i Said, but that I was a mere merchant, who had carried in my hand the diploma of His Majesty. They spread several other lies in the hearing of the infidels, which produced such an impression upon them, that for some time, in the middle of this unholy country, I was reduced to a state of misery and uncertainty. But while labouring under this anxiety, I met the king several times on the road, who treated me with great condescension, and asked how I was going on. In very truth, he possessed excellent qualities.

The *Danaik*, after ravaging the territory of Kulbarga, and bringing some wretched people away with him as captives, returned to Bijanagar. He reproached Hambah Nurir for having stopped my daily rations, and gave me an assignment for 7000 *fanams* on the mint the very day of his arrival. Khwaja Masud and Khwaja Muhammad of Khurasan, who were also residing in Bijanagar, were appointed

to go upon the embassy, carrying with them presents and stuffs. Fath Khan, one of the descendants of Sultan Firoz Shah, who had been King of Delhi, also sent a deputy, named Khwaja Jamal-ud-din, with presents and a petition.

On the day of my audience of leave, the monarch said to this poor individual, "They have represented that you are not really the envoy of His Majesty Mirza Shah Rukh; otherwise we would have paid you greater respect. If you should come again into this country, and I should ascertain that you are really sent on a mission by His Majesty, I will pay you such attention as becomes the dignity of any empire."

The humble author, having completed his preparations, took his departure for the shore of the Sea of Oman.

IV

VASCO DA GAMA AT CALICUT

Vasco da Gama, having been selected by the King of Portugal, Dom Manuel, to command the expedition which was to "complete the discovery of an ocean highway to India," set sail from Lisbon in the month of July 1497. In the following year he reached Malindi, and having established friendly relations with the king of that place, obtained from him pilots to guide him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. His fleet consisted of four vessels, the *S. Gabriel*, the *S. Raphael*, the *Berrio*, and a store-ship. The first of these he made his flag-ship; the second was commanded by his brother, Paulo da Gama; the third by Nicolas Coelho, who subsequently came to India with Cabral, and again in 1503 with Albuquerque; and the store-ship was in charge of a servant of da Gama's named Gonzalo Nunez. The size of the ships has been variously estimated. It is probable, however, that according to modern measurements, the largest did not exceed 200 tons burthen, and may have been considerably less. Barros says that their crews amounted in all to 170 men.

I

(From the *Roteiro* [1])

We left Malindi on Tuesday, the 24th of the month (of April) for a city called Calecut, with a pilot whom

[1] This account of Vasco da Gama's visit to the court of the Zamorin is taken from Professor E. G. Ravenstein's translation of the *Roteiro*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1898 under the title, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99.*

The *Roteiro da Viagem de Dom Vasco da Gama à India*, first

the king had given us.[1] The coast there runs north and south, and the land encloses a huge bay with a

published at Oporto in 1838, must be regarded as the chief authority for the first voyage of the great explorer, being the personal diary of a member of the expedition. The work is usually attributed to a Portuguese soldier named Alvaro Velho; but beyond the fact that Velho attended da Gama on the occasion of his famous interview with the Zamorin, there appears to be little or no evidence to support the theory. The general character and style of the diary indicate that the writer was a person of considerable education, which favours the suggestion that he is to be identified with João de Sa, who was clerk on the *S. Raphael*, the ship in which the author sailed; it certainly points to a person of higher rank than Alvaro Velho. The question is fully discussed by Ravenstein in the work mentioned above.

Of other authorities, the most important are the *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India* of Lopes de Castanheda, the *Decadas da Asia* of João de Barros, the *Lendas da India* of Gaspar Correa, and the celebrated poem of Luiz de Camões, *Os Lusitadas*. The first of these, from which the second part of our story is taken, is the most valuable. Castanheda travelled much in India, and was for several years keeper of the archives in the University of Coimbra. His account of da Gama's first voyage is based mainly on the *Roteiro*. The *Decadas* of Barros, a work of almost equal importance, covers a period of fifty years, commencing with the departure of da Gama from Lisbon in 1497. It is divided into 'decades,' which were published at intervals during the last half of the sixteenth century. Correa's history covers the same period, but differs chronologically from, and is less to be relied upon, than the two former works. A portion of the *Lendas*, translated by Lord Stanley of Alderly, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1869, under the title, *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Vice-royalty*. The *Lusitadas* was published in 1572. The poem is based on the above-mentioned works; and, though its atmosphere is that of a fairy-tale, it is remarkable for its historical accuracy. The stanzas quoted in these notes are from the translation by Sir R. F. Burton.

[1] Malindi, or Melinda, is a port about eighty miles north of Mombassa. It was visited again by da Gama on his second

strait. In this bay, we were told, were to be found many large cities of Christians and Moors, including one called Cambay, as also six hundred known islands, and within it the Red Sea and the 'house' of Mecca.

On the following Sunday (April 29) we once more saw the North Star, which we had not seen for a long time.

On Friday, the 18th of May, after having seen no land for twenty-three days, we sighted lofty mountains, and having all this time sailed before the wind, we could not have made less than 600 leagues.[1] The land, when first sighted, was at a distance of eight leagues, and our lead reached bottom at forty-five fathoms. That same night we took a course to the S.S.W., so as to get away from the coast. On the following day (May 19) we again approached

voyage, and subsequently by Cabral, da Cunha, and Albuquerque, each of whom met with a friendly reception from the ruling chief. The old city is now in ruins; and the only trace of the Portuguese occupation is one of Vasco da Gama's 'pillars' (see note 1, p. 118), which was erected by some later voyagers, on a hill near the coast.

[1] Roughly about 2050 miles. This distance was covered in twenty-four days, so that the average rate of sailing was about eighty-five miles per day. The wind, though favourable, was probably light, as the S.W. monsoon had scarcely set in. With a good wind, da Gama's ships would have made seven or eight miles an hour. Albuquerque made the journey in less than eighteen days; but this was in the month of August, the height of the monsoon season.

The high land first sighted was probably, as Ravenstein conjectures, Mount Eli (Delly), "a conspicuous hill forming a promontory about sixteen miles to the north of Cananor, and named thus from the cardamoms which were largely exported

the land, but owing to the heavy rain and a thunderstorm, which prevailed while we were sailing along the coast, our pilot was unable to identify the exact locality. On Sunday (May 20) we found ourselves close to some mountains, and when we were near enough for the pilot to recognise them he told us that they were above Calecut, and that this was the country we desired to go to.

That night (May 20) we anchored two leagues from the city of Calecut, and we did so because our pilot mistook Capua,[1] a town of that place, for Calecut. Still further there is another town called

from this part of Malabar, and are called Ela in Sanskrit." Burnell derives the name from the Malayalam *eli mala*, 'high mountain.' This is probably correct. To the Portuguese, the hill was known as Monte D'Eli.

The sighting of the Indian coast is thus described by Camões :

Now splendid morning tipt the hills with red
whence rolls the Gange his sacred sounding tide,
when seamen percht upon the topmast head
Highlands far rising o'er the prows descried :
Now, 'scaped the tempest and the first sea-dread,
fled from each bosom terrors vain, and cried
the Melindanian Pilot in delight
" Calicut-land, if aught I see aright !
" This is, pardie, the very Land of Inde,
what realms you seek behold ! ahead appear,
and if no farther Earth ye long to find,
your long-drawn travail finds its limit here."
No more the Gama could compose his mind
for joy to see that Inde is known and near ;
with knees on deck and hands to Heav'n upraisèd,
the God who gavé such gift of grace he praisèd.

Lusitadas, vi., 92-93.

[1] Capua is identical with Kappat, at the mouth of the Elatur river, seven miles north of Calicut.

Pandarani.[1] We anchored about a league and a half from the shore. After we were at anchor, four boats (*almadias*) approached us from the land, who asked of what nation we were. We told them, and they then pointed out Calecut to us.

On the following day (May 21) these same boats came again alongside, when the captain-major sent one of the convicts [2] to Calecut, and those with whom he went took him to two Moors of Tunis, who could speak Castilian and Genoese. The first greeting that he received was in these words: "May the Devil take thee! What brought you hither?" They asked what he sought so far away from home, and he told them that we came in search of Christians and spices. They said: "Why does not the King

[1] Pandarani is the same as Pantalyani Kollam, at that time the principal port on the Malabar coast. It is one and a half miles north of Quilandi.

[2] A number of convicts, men who had been condemned to death, or who were undergoing life sentences, were placed on board the fleet at Lisbon. They were sent on the expedition in order that da Gama might employ them on dangerous ventures, and thereby avoid risking the lives of his seamen. On the outward voyage these men organised a mutiny amongst the crews, and nearly succeeded in wrecking the whole enterprise. Da Gama and his captains were, however, equal to the emergency; and the drastic measures taken to restore order had so wholesome an effect on the convicts that they not only abstained from further mischief, but on several occasions rendered da Gama valuable service. The man sent on shore at Calicut was a Jew named João Nunez, who was selected because he could speak a little Arabic and Hebrew. The majority of the convicts were left behind at various places visited during the voyage, and some of them rose to positions of importance under da Gama's successors.

of Castile, the King of France, or the Signoria of Venice send hither ? " He said that the King of Portugal would not consent to their doing so, and they said he did the right thing. After this they took him to their lodgings and gave him wheaten bread and honey. When he had eaten he returned to the ships, accompanied by one of the Moors, who was no sooner on board, than he said these words: " A lucky venture, a lucky venture ! Plenty of rubies, plenty of emeralds ! You owe great thanks to God, for having brought you to a country holding such riches ! " We were greatly astonished to hear his talk, for we never expected to hear our language spoken so far away from Portugal.

The city of Calecut is inhabited by Christians. They are of tawny complexion. Some of them have big beards and long hair, whilst others clip their hair short or shave the head, merely allowing a tuft [1] to remain on the crown as a sign that they are Christians. They also wear moustaches. They pierce the ears and wear much gold in them. They go naked down to the waist, covering their lower extremities with very fine cotton stuffs. But it is

[1] This tuft, known as the *kudumi*, is usually tied in a single knot which hangs just above the left ear. A Nayar can suffer no greater disgrace than the loss of his *kudumi*. Our author evidently did not inquire very minutely into the meaning of this custom. He probably derived his information from the Moor of Tunis (elsewhere referred to as Bontaibo), who seems to have constituted himself the guide, philosopher, and friend of the Portuguese, and to have indulged now and then in a little 'leg-pulling.'

only the most respectable who do this, for the others manage as best they are able.[1]

The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly [2] and of small stature. They wear jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant.

When we arrived at Calecut, the king [3] was fifteen leagues away. The captain-major sent two men to him with a message, informing him that an

[1] The national dress of the Nayars is thus described in W. Logan's *Manual* of Malabar, published in 1887: "The women clothe themselves in a single white cloth of fine texture reaching from the waist to the knees, and occasionally, while abroad, they throw over the shoulders and bosom another similar cloth. But by custom the Nayar women go uncovered from the waist; upper garments indicate lower caste, or sometimes, by a strange reversal of Western notions, immodesty. The men wear a white cloth in like fashion, and another cloth is occasionally thrown over the shoulders. The ornaments of the women consist chiefly of a large cylinder, gold plated, finely worked, and inserted in the lobe of the ear, which is artificially enlarged for the purpose of receiving it. Several kinds of massive gold necklaces rest on the bosom, while bangles for the wrist, rings for the fingers and nose, and a waist string of elaborate construction complete the list of ornaments. The men content themselves with ordinary earrings, finger rings, and a waist string. Both men and women are extremely particular as to their cleanliness and personal appearance."

[2] This is a libel. The women of Malabar, and particularly those of the Nayar community, are, speaking generally, remarkable for their good looks.

[3] The rise to power of the Zamorins may be said to date from the end of the ninth century A.D., when the kingdom of the

ambassador had arrived from the King of Portugal with letters,[1] and that if he desired it he would take them to where the king then was.

The king presented the bearers of this message with much fine cloth. He sent word to the captain bidding him welcome, saying that he was about to proceed to Calecut. As a matter of fact, he started at once with a large retinue.

A pilot accompanied our two men, with orders to take us to a place called Pandarani, below[2] the place

Perumals, the earliest known rulers of Malabar, either came to an abrupt end, or was in a state of decline. In the general scramble for territory which followed the exit of the last of the Perumals, the Zamorins, originally the possessors of a petty Raj in the neighbourhood of Ernad, rapidly came to the fore. Subduing their immediate neighbours, they succeeded in extending their sway to the sea coast, where they erected their chief stronghold, around which grew up the town of Calicut. Their policy of encouraging trade, combined with a reputation for fair dealing, attracted a large number of Muhammadan merchants to their country, many of whom settled permanently at Calicut, which became in consequence a thriving centre of commerce. By the end of the fourteenth century the Zamorin of Calicut was the most powerful ruler on the Malabar coast. The early history of Malabar is obscure and legendary. For all that is known on the subject the student is referred to Logan's *Manual*, and the *Gazetteer of the Malabar District*, by C. A. Innes and F. B. Evans, published in 1908. For the meaning of the title Zamorin, see note 1, p. 49.

[1] "These," Ravenstein observes, "are, of course, the letters referred to by Barros and other historians, which were given to Gama when he left Portugal. Correa's story, that Vasco and his brother Paulo concocted the letters whilst off Calicut, and forged the king's signature, is therefore quite incredible."

[2] The word 'below' signifies further from the equator, *i.e.* further north. Ships still find a safe anchorage at Pandarani in the monsoon season.

(Capua) where we anchored at first. At this time we were actually in front of the city of Calecut. We were told that the anchorage at the place to which we were to go was good, whilst at the place we were then it was bad, with a stony bottom, which was quite true ; and, moreover, that it was necessary for the ships which came to this country to anchor there for the sake of safety. We ourselves did not feel comfortable, and the captain-major had no sooner received this royal message than he ordered the sails to be set, and we departed. We did not, however, anchor as near the shore as the king's pilot desired.

When we were at anchor, a message arrived informing the captain-major that the king was already in the city. At the same time the king sent a *bale*,[1] with other men of distinction, to Pandarani, to conduct the captain-major to where the king awaited him. This *bale* is like an *alcaide*, and is always attended by two hundred men with swords and bucklers. As it was late when this message arrived, the captain-major deferred going.

On the following morning, which was Monday, May 28th, the captain-major set out to speak to the king, and took with him thirteen men, of whom

[1] *Bale* is evidently a corruption of the Arabic *wali*, governor. The Portuguese word *alcaide* (from the Arabic *ka'id*, a leader) has the same meaning. Castanheda and de Barros speak of this officer as the *kotwal*, which was doubtless his correct designation, and probably signified the chief officer of the palace guard.

I was one.[1] We put on our best attire, placed bombards in our boats, and took with us trumpets and many flags. On landing, the captain-major was received by the *alcaide*, with whom were many men, armed and unarmed. The reception was friendly, as if the people were pleased to see us, though at first appearances looked threatening, for they carried naked swords in their hands. A palanquin was provided for the captain-major, such as is used by men of distinction in that country, as also by some of the merchants, who pay something to the king for this privilege. The captain-major entered the palanquin, which was carried by six men by turns.

[1] Amongst those who attended da Gama on this occasion were Alvaro Velho, João de Sa, Alvaro de Braga, clerk of the *St. Raphael*, and Diogo Diaz, clerk of the *St. Gabriel*. Paulo da Gama and Coelho were left in charge of the vessels, with orders to sail at once for Portugal should any disaster happen to the Chief. Coelho was ordered to await his Chief's return in the boats.

We learn from Castanheda that da Gama, before landing, called a council and announced his intention to go and settle with the king a treaty of commerce and perpetual amity. His brother, however, was against it, alleging that though the king and the natives were Christians, yet there were many Moors among them, who were always their mortal enemies, and would now be more so as considering them come to interfere in their trade; that, therefore, as the success of the voyage and the safety of all the rest depended on his life, he thought it more advisable to send some other person in his stead. But da Gama declared, let what would betide him, he would go himself, and that he would rather die than return without carrying back sure credentials of his having been at Calicut. He directed his brother, however, in case any accident befell him, immediately to return home and carry the news of the discovery of the Indies.

Paulo da Gama, who is here referred to, was Vasco's elder brother. He is said to have declined the leadership of the

Attended by all these people, we took the road to Calecut, and came first to another town, called Capua. The captain-major was there deposited at the house of a man of rank, whilst we others were provided with food, consisting of rice, with much butter, and excellent boiled fish. The captain-major did not wish to eat, and when we had done so, we embarked on a river close by, which flows between the sea and the mainland, close to the coast. The two boats in which we embarked were lashed together, so that we were not separated. There were numerous other boats, all crowded with people. As to those on the

expedition on the ground of ill health ; but consented to accompany his brother as one of his commanders. He died during the voyage home at the island of Terceira. Paulo was of a nobler disposition than Vasco. "He was," says Lord Stanley of Alderly, "a most lovable man, of a gentle disposition, yet capable of as much resolution, and as ready to incur any hazard as the boldest of his companions. All the traits handed down of him, and the speeches reported by Correa, show that he was of the same nature as Bayard. He was an exception to the other men of his age and nation, whose ferocity was stimulated by the desire of gain ; on this account it was fitting that he should have been removed from the scenes of bloodshed and rapine in which his countrymen were shortly afterwards engaged." Vasco da Gama was of a different type. His great quality was, to quote the same writer, "his indomitable constancy, which is set forth in still stronger colours in Correa's narrative than in other histories, and the most pleasing trait in his character is his affection for his brother, though it would have been impossible not to love Paulo da Gama ; but these virtues are detracted from by his violent and passionate temper and by the atrocious cruelties, worse than any ever committed by Pizarro, of which he was guilty during his second voyage. He was able, however, when it served him, to command his temper, and he appears to have possessed a large fund of dissimulation."

banks I say nothing ; their number was infinite, and they had all come to see us. We went up that river for about a league, and saw many large ships drawn up high and dry on its banks, for there is no port there.

When we disembarked, the captain-major once more entered his palanquin. The road was crowded with a countless multitude anxious to see us. Even the women came out of their houses with children in their arms and followed us.

When we arrived at Calecut they took us to a large church, and this is what we saw :

The body of the church is as large as a monastery,[1]

[1] " This ' church ' was, of course, a pagoda or temple. The high pillar in front of it is used for suspending the flag which indicates the commencement of the Temple festival. It is of wood, but usually covered with copper or silver. The cock which surmounts it is the symbol of the war-god Subraumaniar " (Ravenstein).

The fact that the author of the *Roteiro* mistook a Hindu temple for a Christian church has been regarded as evidence of his inferior intelligence and lack of education ; but the evidence is of no account ; for, as we learn from Castanheda, de Barros, and other writers, his mistake was shared by the whole company, including da Gama himself. The Portuguese had left Lisbon with the idea that in India they would find Christian kings ruling over Christian subjects, and any doubts they may have had on the subject were probably removed by an incident which occurred after their arrival at Malindi. " We found here," says the author of the *Roteiro*, " four vessels belonging to Indian Christians. When they came for the first time on board Paulo da Gama's ship, the captain-major being there at the time, they were shown an altar-piece representing Our Lady at the foot of the cross, with Jesus Christ in her arms and the apostles around her. When the Indians saw this picture they prostrated themselves, and as long as we were there they came to say their prayers in

all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles. At the main entrance rises a pillar of bronze as high as a mast, on the top of which was perched a bird, apparently a cock. In addition to this, there was another pillar as high as a man and very stout. In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel, all built of hewn stone, with a bronze door sufficiently wide for a man to pass, and stone steps leading up to it. Within this sanctuary stood a small image

front of it, bringing offerings of cloves, pepper, and other things." It was, doubtless, the similarity in sound of the names Christ and Krishna which misled the Indians, who prostrated themselves before the picture under the impression that they were doing homage to their own favourite deity, frequently represented as a little child.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that the Portuguese considered the behaviour of the Indians at Malindi as a proof that they were Christians; but that many of them should have continued, throughout their three months' sojourn on the Malabar coast, to regard the Zamorin and his subjects as a Christian community, is almost incredible, That this was the case, however, seems beyond doubt; for after the return of the first ship to Portugal (the *St. Raphael*, which reached Lisbon on July 10th, 1498) we find one Girolamo Sernigi, a citizen of repute, telling a friend in Florence, to whom he is sending an account of the discovery of the Indies, that Vasco da Gama came "to a very great city, larger than Lisbon, inhabited by Christians, called Calecut." Even Dom Manuel, the king, shared the misapprehension, and in the course of a letter to the Cardinal Protector, wrote: "Your Reverence must know that those who have just returned from this investigation and discovery, visited, among other parts of India, a city called Calecut, whence they brought us cinnamon, cloves . . . the King looks upon himself and the major part of his people as Christian. . . ." The *St. Gabriel*, the next ship to arrive, brought more accurate information; and citizen Sernigi writes a second letter to his friend, telling him that he has now seen Gaspar da Gama, the pilot of the expedition, from whom he

which they said represented Our Lady.[1] Along the walls, by the main entrance, hung seven small bells. In this church the captain-major said his prayers, and we with him.

We did not go within the chapel, for it is the custom that only certain servants of the church, called *quafees*,[2] should enter. These *quafees* wore some threads passing over the left shoulder and under the

has learnt that the supposed churches are in reality Hindu temples, and that the Zamorin has few, if any, Christian subjects. Translations of the above-mentioned letters are included in *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama.* "Gaspar da Gama," says Ravenstein, "was quite right. There were no Christians at Calicut when Vasco da Gama first visited that town, nor are there many now. Cochin and not Calicut was the chief seat of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. They were an offshoot of the church of Persia, which recognised the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon (Mosul)." Vasco da Gama, it should be mentioned, did not return on the *St. Gabriel*; he had remained at Terceira with his dying brother, and it was some weeks later when he arrived at Lisbon.

[1] Ravenstein states, on the authority of the Rev. Jacob Jaus of the Basel Mission, Calicut, that there is a local deity named Mari, or Mariamma, much dreaded and reverenced in Malabar as the goddess of small-pox. Charton (*Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes*, iii. p. 246) suggests that the image seen by the Portuguese may have been that of Maha Maja and her son Shakya.

[2] These were clearly the Brahman priests, or *santis*, who officiated at the temple. The word *quafee* seems to have puzzled Ravenstein. There can be little doubt, however, that it is a mistake for, or misreading of the word *quafre*, a transliteration of the Arabic *kafir*, or *kafr*. Castanheda, whose account of these events is taken from the *Roteiro*, uses the latter word: *& estes homes se chamão Cafres.* Amongst Muhammadans, *kafr* signifies an 'unbeliever,' and is indiscriminately applied to all who are not followers of the Prophet. Bontaibo was no doubt the author of this irreverent appellation.

right arm, in the same manner as our deacons wear the stole. They threw holy water over us, and gave us some white earth, which the Christians of this country are in the habit of putting on their foreheads, breasts, around the neck, and on the forearms. They threw holy water on the captain-major and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of someone, giving them to understand that he would put it on later.

Many other saints were painted on the walls of the church, wearing crowns. They were painted variously, with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth, and four or five arms.

Below this church there was a large masonry tank, similar to many others which we had seen along the road.

After we had left that place, and had arrived at the entrance to the city of Calecut, we were shown another church, where we saw things like those described above. Here the crowd grew so dense that progress along the street became next to impossible, and for this reason they put the captain into a house, and us with him.

The king sent a brother of the *bale*, who was a lord of this country, to accompany the captain, and he was attended by men beating drums, blowing *anafils* and bag-pipes, and firing off matchlocks. In conducting the captain they showed us much respect, more than is shown in Spain to a king. The number of people was countless, for in addition

to those who surrounded us, and among whom there were two thousand armed men, they crowded the roofs and houses.

The further we advanced in the direction of the king's palace, the more did they increase in number. And when we arrived there, men of much distinction and great lords came out to meet the captain, and joined those who were already in attendance upon him. It was then an hour before sunset. When we reached the palace we passed through a gate into a courtyard of great size, and before we arrived at where the king was, we passed four doors, through which we had to force our way, giving many blows to the people. When, at last, we reached the door where the king was, there came forth from it a little old man, who holds a position resembling that of a bishop, and whose advice the king acts upon in all affairs of the church. This man embraced the captain when he entered the door. Several men were wounded at this door, and we only got in by the use of much force.[1]

The king was in a small court, reclining upon a couch covered with cloth of green velvet, above which was a good mattress, and upon this again a sheet of cotton stuff, very white and fine, more so than any linen. The cushions were after the same

[1] Castanheda says that at this particular point the people "pressed so violently to get in (as seeing their king but seldom) that several were squeezed to death; which had been the fate of two Portuguese, but for the porters, who laid on unmercifully to make room."

fashion. In his left hand the king held a very large golden cup, having a capacity of half an almude (8 pints). At its mouth this cup was two palmas (16 inches) wide, and apparently it was massive. Into this cup the king threw the husks of a certain herb which is chewed by the people of this country because of its soothing effects, and which they call *atambor*.[1] On the right side of the king stood a basin of gold, so large that a man might just encircle it with his arms: this contained the herbs. There were likewise many silver jugs. The canopy above the couch was all gilt.[2]

[1] A corruption of the Arabic *al-tambul* (betel), which "gives its name to the Tambolis or Tamolis, sellers of betel in the N. Indian bazars" (Yule's *Glossary*, p. 913).

[2] Castanheda's description of the Zamorin as he appeared when he received da Gama is as follows: "The king was of a brown complexion, large body, and advanced in years. He had a majestic aspect, and lay reclined upon a settee which was covered with white silk wrought with gold, and overhead a high canopy. He wore a short coat of fine calico, embroidered with leaves and flowers of gold. The buttons were pearls, and the holes of gold thread. About his middle was a piece of white calico which reached to his knees. On his head he had a sort of mitre covered over with pearls and precious stones. In his ears were jewels of the same kind, and his toes as well as his fingers were loaded with diamond rings. His arms and legs were bare and adorned with gold bracelets. Near him stood a basin on a high stand, all of gold, out of which one of his attendants served him with *betel*, which he chewed with salt and areca, an apple no bigger than a hazel nut. The use of this drug is common all over India, having the virtue, as is supposed, of sweetening the breath, carrying the phlegm off the stomach, and quenching the thirst. There was another gold vessel for the king to spit into, likewise a gold fountain with water, to wash his mouth after it. All present held their left hands before their mouths,

The captain, on entering, saluted in the manner of the country: by putting the hands together, then raising them towards Heaven, as is done by Christians when addressing God, and immediately afterwards opening them and shutting the fists quickly. The king beckoned to the captain with his right hand to come nearer, but the captain did not approach him, for it is the custom of the country for no man to approach the king except only the servant who hands him the herbs, and when any one addresses the king he holds the hand before the mouth, and remains at a distance. When the king

that their breath might not reach the king, before whom it is reckoned offensive to spit or sneeze. . . . He (the Zamorin) ordered figs and *jakas* to be given them, being well pleased to see them eat. On their calling for water, a golden cup with a spout was brought them; and being informed that the Malabars reckoned it indecent to touch the vessel with their lips when they drank, they, in compliance with the custom, held it at some distance above their mouths; but not being used to that method, the liquor either overcharged their throats and made them cough, or falling on one side, wetted their clothes, which made diversion for the court."

Cf. also the *Lusitadas*, vii. 57 and 58:

That great and glorious Emperor
sat on a cushioned couch which, though 'twas small,
for work and worth was never seen before:
Showed his reclining gest imperial
a potent grave, and prosperous Signior:
Golden his loin-cloth, and the diadem
that crowns his brow doth blaze with many a gem.

Hard by his side an old man reverent,
knelt on the floor, and now and then a few
green leaves of pungent pepper did present,
in wonted usage for the Sire to chew.

beckoned to the captain he looked at us others, and ordered us to be seated on a stone bench near him, where he could see us. He ordered that water for our hands should be given us, as also some fruit, one kind of which resembled a melon, except that its outside was rough and the inside sweet, and another kind of fruit resembled a fig, and tasted very nice. There were men who prepared these fruits for us; and the king looked at us eating and smiled; and talked to the servant who stood near him supplying him with the herbs referred to.

Then, throwing his eyes on the captain, who sat facing him, he invited him to address himself to the courtiers present, saying they were men of much distinction, that he could tell them whatever he desired to say, and they would repeat it to him (the king). The captain-major replied that he was the ambassador of the King of Portugal, and the bearer of a message which he could only deliver to him personally. The king said this was good, and immediately asked him to be conducted to a chamber. When the captain-major had entered, the king, too, rose and joined him, whilst we remained where we were. All this happened about sunset. An old man who was in the court took away the couch as soon as the king rose, but allowed the plate to remain. The king, when he joined the captain, threw himself upon another couch, covered with various stuffs embroidered in gold, and asked the captain what he wanted.

The captain told him he was the ambassador of a King of Portugal, who was the lord of many countries and the possessor of great wealth of every description, exceeding that of any king of these parts ; that for a period of sixty years his ancestors had annually sent out vessels to make discoveries in the direction of India, as they knew that there were Christian kings there like themselves. This, he said, was the reason which induced them to order this country to be discovered, not because they sought for gold or silver, for of this they had such abundance that they needed not what was to be found in this country. He further stated that the captains sent out travelled for a year or two, until their provisions were exhausted, and then returned to Portugal, without having succeeded in making the desired discovery. There reigned a king now whose name was Dom Manuel, who had ordered him to build three vessels, of which he had been appointed captain-major, and who had ordered him not to return to Portugal until he should have discovered this King of the Christians, on pain of having his head cut off. That two letters had been entrusted to him to be presented in case he succeeded in discovering him, and that he would do so on the ensuing day ; and finally that he had been instructed to say by word of mouth that he (the King of Portugal) desired to be his friend and brother.

In reply to this the king said that he was welcome ; that, on his part, he held him as a friend and brother,

and would send ambassadors with him to Portugal. This latter had been asked as a favour, the captain pretending that he would not dare to present himself before his king and master unless he was able to present, at the same time, some men of this country.

These and many other things passed between the two in this chamber, and as it was already late in the night, the king asked the captain with whom he desired to lodge, with Christians or Moors? And the captain replied, neither with Christians nor with Moors, and begged as a favour that he be given a lodging by himself. The king said he would order it thus, upon which the captain took leave of the king and came to where we were, that is, to a veranda lit up by a huge candle-stick. By that time four hours of the night had already gone.

We then all went forth with the captain in search of our lodgings, and a countless crowd with us. And the rain poured down so heavily that the streets ran with water. The captain went on the back of six men in a palanquin, and the time occupied in passing through the city was so long that the captain at last grew tired, and complained to the king's factor, a Moor of distinction, who attended him to the lodgings. The Moor then took him to his own house, and we were admitted to a court within it, where there was a veranda roofed in with tiles. Many carpets had been spread, and there were two large candle-sticks like those at the Royal palace. At the top of each of these were great iron lamps,

fed with oil or butter, and each lamp had four wicks, which gave much light. These lamps they use instead of torches.

This same Moor then had a horse brought for the captain to take him to his lodgings, but it was without a saddle, and the captain refused to mount it. We then started for our lodgings, and when we arrived we found there some of our men who had come from the ships with the captain's bed, and with numerous other things which the captain had brought as presents for the king.

II

(Castanheda)

The narrative is now taken up, without a break, by Castanheda, whose account has been taken from the condensed translation contained in the Astley Collection of Voyages and Travels.

Next morning, da Gama, resolving to make the Zamorin a present, sent for the factor and kotwal to inspect them first. The present consisted of four pieces of scarlet,[1] six hats, four branches of coral,

[1] 'Scarlet' here probably signifies scarlet broadcloth. The word is from the Persian *sakalat*, a kind of woollen cloth. It was originally the name of a material, not of a colour, and acquired its modern meaning from the fact that the material it denoted was frequently dyed a red colour.

The author of the *Roteiro* says the present consisted of "twelve pieces of lambel, four scarlet hoods (capuzes de gram), six hats, four strings of coral, a case containing six wash-hand basins, a case of sugar, two casks of oil, and two of honey." In any case it appears to have been a poor offering to set before a king; and it is not very surprising that such a 'job lot' excited the

six almasares, a parcel of brass, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil, and two of honey. At the sight of these things, the factor and kotwal laughed, saying, it was not a present fit for the king; that the poorest merchant who came to that port gave a better: in short, that if he would needs make the king a present, it should be in gold; for that he would not accept of anything else. Da Gama,

Kotwal's ridicule, and Bontaibo's wonderment that a royal ambassador should come so ill provided. It is difficult to understand why da Gama, the main object of whose mission was to establish trade connections with the East, should have been sent out short of both goods and money. And yet such was the case. The merchandise he carried was, says Ravenstein, "not only insufficient in quantity, but proved altogether unsuited to the Indian market. It seems to have included *lambel* (striped cotton stuff), sugar, olive-oil, honey, and coral beads. Among the objects intended for presents there were wash-hand basins, scarlet hoods, silk jackets, pantaloons, hats, Moorish caps; besides such trifles as glass beads, little round bells, tin rings and bracelets, which were well enough suited for barter on the Guinea coast, but were not appreciated by the wealthy merchants of Calicut. Of ready money there seems to have been little to spare." According to Barros (see Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, p. 174), Vasco da Gama "went on shore with twelve persons, but did not take a present with him, and on the day after his audience of the Zamorin, at the advice of Monzaide, he sent a few things to the Zamorin, with the excuse that when he left Portugal he was not sure of reaching India and seeing the King of Calicut, and therefore was not so well provided as he should have been, and these things were some which he had brought for his own use, and he sent them, not for their value, but as samples of Portuguese goods." The truth of the matter seems to be that the Portuguese had reckoned on finding in India chiefs of much the same stamp as those with whom they had had dealings in Africa; and when da Gama saw the wealth and state of the Zamorin, and the civilisation prevailing in his kingdom, he was probably taken completely by surprise.

being offended with their behaviour, replied with some resentment that if he had come there to trade, he would have brought him gold, but that he was no merchant but an ambassador ; that the present was from himself, not the king his master, who not knowing that such a Prince as the Zamorin was in being, had sent no present for him : but that when he should be certified that there was such a monarch at Calicut, he would, no doubt, with the next ships, send him gold, silver, and other goods of value. The factor and kotwal said it might be so ; but that it was the custom there for every stranger, who came to speak with the king, to make a present suitable to his dignity. Da Gama answered that it was fit the custom should be observed ; and that for the same end he proposed to make the king that present, which would have been better, but for the reason above-mentioned ; and therefore desired that he might be suffered to carry it to the king, otherwise he would send it aboard again.

They said he might send it on board as soon as he pleased ; for that they would not consent to its being carried to the king. Da Gama, much incensed, told them that since he could not have their consent, he would go himself and speak to the king ; and in the mean time would immediately return to his ships ; proposing this way to inform the king of what had passed. They approved of his going to court ; but said they had a little business in the city, and desired he would stay till they returned, since

the king would not be pleased that he should go to the palace without them. Da Gama promised to wait for them; but they came not all that day. The truth was they were gained by the Moors, who had gotten intelligence from the coast of Africa of what the Portuguese had done there; and that their coming was to discover Calicut. Bontaibo[1] told them that they came not to discover Calicut, but to settle a trade there, and carry back spices to their own country, where there was store of gold; and which was frequented by merchants who came to India by way of the Red Sea; that therefore their establishing a trade at this place would redound much to the Zamorin's interest.

This they allowed; but were the more alarmed at what they heard; since, said they, should these strangers, who are Christians, once get footing in Calicut, the price of our commodities will fall considerably, and our trade be ruined.[2] Hereupon they

[1] Bontaibo, or Monçaide as he is styled by Barros, was the Moor of Tunis who greeted da Gama on his arrival at Calicut. According to Correa, he was a native of Seville, who was captured by the Moors when five months old, and brought up a Moslem. He accompanied da Gamâ to Portugal, and was baptised.

[2] The route by which, in ancient times, Indian products passed to Europe lay across the north-west frontier, and through Persia to the port of Aleppo, whence they were shipped to different countries. Later, when the growth of the power of the Turks, consequent on the spread of Muhammadanism, rendered the caravan routes across Persia unsafe, goods from India were sent up the Red Sea to Suez, and thence across Egypt to Alexandria, where they were placed on board Venetian ships, and carried to European ports. From India to Alexandria the trade was

consulted how to ruin the General's credit with the Zamorin, so as to induce him to seize his ships, and destroy all the men, that they might not carry back any tidings of Calicut. To bring this about, some of the principal among them repaired to the Zamorin, and cautioned him not to be deceived by his new guest; assuring him that he was no ambassador, but a pirate, who had committed the greatest outrages at Mozambique, Mombassa, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, of which their factors had sent them notice. Fearing this would not have the full effect, they got the kotwal, who was in great credit with the king, to second their attempt, and allege the poorness of the present as a proof of

entirely in the hands of Arab merchants, who settled in large numbers on the west coast of India, and who, though they exercised little political power, amassed considerable wealth and influence. Ibn Batuta, who was at Calicut a century and a half before Vasco da Gama, says that "the greatest part of the Muhammadans of this place are so wealthy, that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here, and fit out others like them." Any attempt on the part of a European country to trade direct with India, and to do its own fetching and carrying, was naturally viewed with dismay by the Arab community, as threatening the destruction of their ancient and extremely profitable monopoly. They knew, too, that in fighting for what they regarded as their rights, they could expect little sympathy from the Hindu Rajas, who stood to gain rather than to lose by the direct method of trade, and who, in any case, were not likely to view the decline of Muhammadan influence with any deep feelings of regret. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Arab traders did their best to ruin da Gama's enterprise, and that from that time forwards, they regarded the Portuguese with fierce enmity. Da Gama's difficulties were trifling in comparison with those which beset the paths of his successors.

da Gama being no ambassador. Meanwhile they went to the General's lodging, under pretext of friendship, to advise him what to do; and recommend the making of a present above all things; this they did to move da Gama to shew them that which he had prepared, in order to undervalue it. Accordingly being shewed it, they told him that the factor and kotwal had reason to be displeased with it; and advised him not to send it by any means, lest the king should take it as done to affront him. Bontaibo was of the same mind, wondering how it happened that he was no better provided, seeing Portugal afforded plenty of all things. Da Gama, mortified at these speeches, which he took to proceed from friendship, alleged in excuse the same reason he had given the kotwal.

It was the afternoon next day, before this officer and the factor came near the general; and when he resented their treatment, they took no notice of it, but talked of other matters, and went with him to court. As the king's mind had been much changed by yesterday's report, he kept da Gama waiting three hours before he sent for him; and when he was admitted (without any of his men being suffered to enter) the king told him with an angry countenance that he had waited for him all the day before. Da Gama's excuse was that he had been fatigued with his journey, being unwilling to tell him the true cause, lest it should bring the present into question. But the king, who had been talked to on that subject,

as related before, immediately started it, asking him how it could happen that if he came as an ambassador from so great and rich a prince, as he said his master was, that he brought no present from him; for that he could not tell what to make of an embassy of friendship without such a necessary credential.[1]

Da Gama made the old apology; adding that his majesty might be sure his sovereign would send him a noble present, in case he lived to carry back the news of his discovery. The Zamorin then demanded, whether his master sent him to discover stones or men. "If the latter," added he, "why did he send me no present by you? But since you have brought me none, I hear you have a Saint Mary in gold, and desire I may have that." Da Gama, a little confounded at this demand, replied that the image he was told of was not of gold, but wood gilded; but nevertheless, as it had preserved him at sea, he desired to be excused from parting with it. The king made no answer to this; but asked for the letters, one of which was written in Portuguese and the other in Arabic. Da Gama, suspicious of the

[1] Cf. *Lusitadas*, viii. 62:

> And if great wealthy kingdoms doth thy King
> sway, as thou say'est with kingly majesty,
> what rich rare presents do I see thee bring
> earnests of doubtful unknown verity?
> The splendid robe, the costly offering
> betwixt high King and King link amity:
> I hold no valid sign, no certain pledge,
> the pleas a vagrant seaman may allege.

Moors' integrity, desired he might have Christian interpreters for the Arabic ; but none being to be found, he proposed Bontaibo for one, which was granted. The Moors, having first conned the letter over amongst themselves, read it aloud ; the purport whereof was, that as soon as it was known to the King of Portugal that the King of Calicut, one of the mightiest princes of all the Indies, was a Christian, he was desirous to cultivate a trade and friendship with him, for the conveniency of lading spices in his ports ; for which, in exchange, the commodities of Portugal should be sent, or else gold and silver, in case his majesty chose the same ; referring it to the General, his ambassador, to make a farther report.

The Zamorin, whose interest it was to encourage the resort of merchants, seemed well pleased with the letter, and putting on a more friendly countenance, began to enquire about the commodities of Portugal, which da Gama gave him an account of, acquainting him at the same time that he had brought samples of them all to shew his majesty, if he would only give him leave to fetch them from on board, and offered to leave four or five of his men behind till his return. The king replied there was no necessity for his men's stay, and bid him bring his merchandise on shore, with the liberty to sell them to best advantage. The kotwal had orders to attend him to his lodgings.

Next day, being the last of May, the kotwal sent da Gama a horse ; but being without furniture, he

desired instead thereof an open chair, which was sent. In this he was carried to Pandarani, accompanied by several Nayers. The Moors, finding the General was going to his ships, and apprehending he would not land any more, went in haste to the kotwal, and prevailed on him, by a large bribe [1] to pursue da Gama and detain him prisoner, that they might have an opportunity to kill him ; engaging to obtain his pardon of the king, for acting contrary to his orders. The kotwal undertook the affair ; and having overtaken da Gama, who was gotten a great way before his men, unable to walk fast for the heat, asked him by signs why he made such haste, and if he was running away. Da Gama answered, he was running away from the heat. Being got to Pandarani, it was sunset before his men came up. As soon as they arrived he demanded a boat or pinnace to go aboard. The kotwal would have dissuaded him, by reason that the ships were at a great distance, and it being dark he might miss them. Da Gama told him it looked as if he had a mind to stop him, and was not kind usage from one Christian to another ; threatening to return and

[1] Cf. *Lusitadas*, viii. 81 :

This Cat'ual also gifts and bribes had tane,
tempted like others by the Moslem folk ;
eke was he chief who held the guiding rein
of all the cities 'neath the Samo'rim's yoke :
From him alone the Moormen looked to gain
their base and wicked wills by hook or crook :
He, who in concert vile with them conspires,
despaireth not to glut their ill desires.

complain to the king if he did not immediately provide him a vessel. The kotwal pretended he only advised what he thought best, and said he might have twenty almadias if he had a mind, sending at the same time to look for them, but giving private orders to the boatmen to keep out of the way. The general, suspecting some treachery, sent three sailors along the shore to bid Coelho (if they saw him) keep off with his boats. The time being thus delayed, he consented to stay there all night; but in the morning the kotwal, instead of bringing a boat, required him to order his ships nearer the shore. Though this demand put da Gama in fear, yet he answered that so long as he was on land he would give no such order; since his brother would then conclude he was detained a prisoner, and so would return to Portugal without him.

The kotwal and the rest of them told him in an imperious tone that if he would not do what they demanded, he should not go on board. Da Gama made answer that if they offered to hinder him, he would return to Calicut and complain to the king; but in case his mâjesty thought fit to detain him, he would be very well pleased to stay in the country. The kotwal replied he might go and make the complaint as soon as he would; but at the same time, to prevent it, ordered the doors of his lodging to be kept shut, and several Nayars to stand guard within, with their naked swords. There were others likewise without to oppose the Portuguese in case they

should attempt to force their way. However, fear prevented him from laying violent hands on da Gama. His design in having the ships brought to the shore side was to give the Moors an opportunity of boarding them, and destroying the men; but finding that da Gama would not suffer it, he desired that their sails and rudders might be landed; at which the General laughed, and said he would do no such thing, since the king had given him leave to go aboard without any condition, adding that he might do his worst, and that his majesty should be acquainted with all the injuries he had received from him. But although both he and his men put the best face upon it, they were under great fear.

At length, pretending to be out of victuals, the General would have had the kotwal let his men go to fetch some, but he refused. This doubled their apprehensions. At the same time, one of the sailors returned and acquainted him that he had met with Coelho, who waited for him with the boats. Da Gama did all he could to conceal this piece of news from the kotwal, and sent back the sailor privately to apprise Coelho of the condition he was in, and order him in haste to the ships, to prevent a surprise. He was scarce put off when the kotwal coming to the knowledge of it, sent several armed almadias in pursuit; but they could not overtake him. After this, the kotwal pressed da Gama again to write to his brother to bring the ships near the shore. But the General told him if he should, his brother would

not obey such orders; and in case he should be willing, those who were with him would not consent to it. The kotwal replied he should never make him believe so much; for he well knew that whatever he commanded would be obeyed.

The day being spent in this sort of parley, at night they were put into a great yard encompassed with walls, under a stronger guard than before. This made them apprehend they should be separated next day. It was imagined the kotwal's design was to extort a present. That night he would needs sup with the General, for which purpose rice and hens had been provided; and wondered as much to see they bore their confinement so patiently, as at the General's resolution in refusing to comply with his demand. Next day he told da Gama that since he had promised the King to bring his merchandise to land, he should command them to be brought; saying it was the custom for all ships, as soon as they arrived at Calicut, to land both their goods and men, who were not to return on board till all were sold. However, he said, as soon as the merchandises came ashore he would suffer him to go to his ships. Although da Gama had no dependence on the kotwal's words, yet he told him he would send for them, provided he would furnish almadias or pinnaces; for he knew that his brother would not send the ships' boats unless he was aboard himself.

The kotwal consented to this proposal in hopes to get all the goods himself; and da Gama dispatched

two of his men with a letter to let his brother know the terms which he and the kotwal were come to ; that though he was confined, he was otherwise well used ; that he should send part of the cargo on shore ; and in case afterwards the kotwal detained him, he should then think he was kept prisoner by the Zamorin's command, in order to gain time for arming his ships to seize theirs ; and therefore in such case, advised him (Paulo da Gama) to return forthwith to Portugal, to inform the king, and counsel him to send a strong fleet that might rescue his subjects out of slavery, and secure the trade of a rich country so luckily discovered.

Paulo da Gama sent the goods immediately ; letting the General know that he would not return without him ; and that if they did not release him forthwith, he would force them to it with his ordnance. The goods being landed, the kotwal, after making friends with the General, let him go to his ships. When he was gotten on board, he resolved neither to go ashore any more, nor send more goods, till he understood those which had been already landed were sold. This was a great vexation to the Moors, who saw him now more out of their reach ; yet, to do him what hurt they could, they began to undervalue his merchandises and hinder the sale. Meantime the General, by his factor Diogo Diaz, acquainted the king with his reasons for so acting, and the injuries that had been done him by the kotwal, as well as the Moors.

The king seemed to be much incensed, and promised to punish the offenders, and send some merchants to buy the goods. This last was performed, though not the first; for the kotwal was not confined; but seven or eight Gujarat merchants came; and, with the factor, an honest Nayar to remain in the factory, and not suffer a Moor to come near it. But as this was only to put the better gloss on things, and the Gujarats were, underhand, gained by the Moors, they bought nothing, and rather lessened the value of the commodities. After this the Moors were more inveterate against the Portuguese than before; so that whenever any of them landed (as if it was an injury done to them) they would spit on the ground, and cry *Portugal! Portugal!* At which the men, as they were ordered, would only laugh, to show how little they regarded their malice.

Da Gama, finding the goods did not go off, supposed there were no merchants in the place; and therefore sent to desire of the king liberty for removing them to Calicut, which was granted, and the kotwal ordered to have them carried there, and provide a house to deposit them, all at his majesty's expense. But still the General would not land again, to which he was also advised by Bontaibo, who in his frequent visits, told him that the king was apt to change his mind, and might therefore be influenced by the Moors, who were in great credit with him. Da Gama always rewarded this Moor for his intelligence; but was upon his guard to him, as well as the rest, nor

ever let him know what he intended to do. The goods being removed to Calicut, the General gave his men liberty, by turns, to see the city, where they were kindly received by the gentiles, and sold their goods with the utmost freedom. The natives, on the other hand, daily resorted to the ships in boats, to sell provisions, and many out of mere curiosity, who were kindly entertained by the General's order, the better to ingratiate himself with the king.

Thus matters went quietly on till the 10th of August, when the season for returning from the Indies being come, da Gama, with the advice of his council, sent Diaz,[1] his factor, to the king with a present of scarfs, silks, corals and other things, and to notify his intention to depart; desiring, in case he was disposed to send an ambassador to Portugal, that he might be dispatched. He likewise acquainted him that he designed to leave his factor and secretary at Calicut, with the goods that were there, to remain till the arrival of the next fleet from Europe; and lastly as confirmation of his having been in India, he requested that the king would send his master a *bahar* [2] of cinnamon, another of cloves, and

[1] Diogo Diaz was clerk on the *S. Gabriel.* He was the brother of Bartholemew Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope.

[2] The *bahar* was equivalent to about 448 lbs. It contained four old *quintals* of Portugal; and the old *quintal* (¾ of the new) contained 128 *arratels* of 14 ozs. = 112 lbs. "All the drugs," Barbosa says, "and spices and everything else which comes from India is sold in Portugal by the old weight, while other goods are sold by the new weight."

a third of spices, which should be paid for out of the first goods that were sold.

After waiting four days, Diaz was at length admitted to the presence of the king, who looking on him with a frowning countenance, asked what he wanted. Diaz, in great fear, delivered his message ; and then going to offer the present, the Zamorin would not see it ; but ordered it to be delivered to his factor. As to the General, his answer was, that if he would needs go away, he might ; but that before he went, he should pay him 600 *sharafins*,[1] according to the custom of the port. Diaz, on his return, seeing himself accompanied with several Nayars, looked upon it as a good sign. But as soon as he arrived at the factory, they placed themselves to guard the door, and would not suffer any to go out. After this, proclamation was made through the city forbidding any person whoever to go on board the fleet under pain of death. For all this, Bontaibo went, and bid the General be on his guard ;[2] assuring him that all the seeming courtesy of the king was only a bait to draw him and his men ashore

[1] *i.e.* £223, reckoning the *sharafin*, or Xerafin, at 7s. 5d.

[2] Cf. *Lusitadas*, ix. 7 :

He warns the wary Gama that th' Armade
due from Arabian Mecca year by year,
is that whereon his fellows' hope is laid,
to be the deadly arm of certain snare ;
" They sail with armed hosts amain," he said,
" and Vulcan's horrid thunderbolts they bear ;
So may ye read'ly fall an easy prey
As ye be poorly furnisht for the fray ! "

in order to destroy them ; for that the Moors had persuaded him that the Portuguese were pirates, and came with no other intention than to carry off by force such merchandises as were brought to the city, and to pry into the strength of the country, in order to return with a fleet sufficient to invade it.

This information was confirmed by two Malabars ; and in the night a negro servant of Diaz arrived in a fisher-boat to inform da Gama of what had happened; but though much incensed at it he proposed to wait a little to see the issue. Two days after, there came aboard a single almadia, with four boys who bringing precious stones to sell, the General took for spies ; but seemed to be ignorant of what had passed in Calicut, and would not seize them, thinking to allure others of more consequence aboard. This had the effect ; for the Zamorin, imagining from hence that da Gama knew nothing of the imprisonment of his factor and secretary, sent people on board to amuse him, till such time as he could fit out a fleet, or the ships of Mecca should arrive to take him. At length, there coming six principal Malabars, and fifteen others their attendants, he ordered them to be seized ; and sent back two of the pinnace-men with a letter in the Malabar tongue to the king's factor, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange.[1]

[1] The account in the *Roteiro* is as follows : " When the people saw that no harm befell them, there came daily (to the ships) many merchants, and others who were not merchants, from

This letter being shewed the Zamorin, he ordered his factor to take the prisoners home with him, that he might not seem to have had any knowledge of their seizure, and from thence to send them to the General. But not arriving as soon as he expected, da Gama, on the 23rd, set sail and came to anchor in an open road, four leagues below Calicut, where he waited three days ; and seeing none come near him, put to sea almost out of sight of land. Here a boat with Malabars came aboard, who told the General that they came to let him know his people were in the king's palace, and would be with him next day. Da Gama told them they must bring him his men or letters from them instantly ; that, if they came again without either, he would sink them ; and if they came not at all, would cut off the heads of those he had seized. As soon as the boat was departed he turned his ships towards shore, and came to anchor over against Calicut.

curiosity, and all were made welcome by us and given to eat. On the following Sunday about twenty-five men came. Among them there were six persons of quality, and the captain perceived that through these we might recover the men who were detained as prisoners on land. He therefore laid hands upon them, and upon a dozen of the others, being eighteen in all. The rest he ordered to be landed in one of his boats, and gave them a letter to be delivered to the King's Moorish factor, in which he declared that if he would restore the men who were being kept prisoners he would liberate those whom he had taken. When it became known that we had taken these men, a crowd proceeded to the house where our merchandise was kept, and conducted our men to the house of the factor, without doing them any harm."

Next day they descried several almadias which made up to the General's ship, in one of which was Diaz and Braga, whom the Malabars put into the ship's boat, and then withdrew, not daring to come near, waiting for the General's answer.

On hearing of the ships' departure, the Zamorin had sent for Diaz from his factor's house, and, as if he knew nothing of his imprisonment, asked him what was the General's reason for detaining his people. Diaz having told him, he said the General was in the right of it. Then he asked if his factor had extorted any gift from him, saying that he (the factor) well knew he had ordered his predecessor in that office to be put to death for taking money from merchants. Then he bid Diaz desire the General to send him the stone[1] (with a cross and the arms of Portugal cut on it) which he had promised him, that he might get it set; and to let him know if he was willing to leave him (Diaz) to be his factor in Calicut.

[1] This was a stone pillar which da Gama desired to be erected on the shore as a memorial of his landing at Calicut, and as a token of friendly relations with the Zamorin. Three such pillars appear to have been erected during the expedition. The last was placed on one of the islands off the coast of the North Canara district. "We there launched a boat," says the author of the *Roteiro*, "and put up a pillar on one of these islets, which we called Santa Maria, the king having ordered three pillars (padrãos) to be named S. Raphael, S. Gabriel, and Santa Maria. We had thus succeeded in erecting these three, *scilicet*, the first, that of S. Raphael, on the Rio dos bons Signaes; the second, that of S. Gabriel, at Calicut; and this, the last, named Santa Maria." The Rio dos bons Signaes runs into the Mozambique Channel, near the town of Kilimane.

By de Braga also he sent a letter to the King of Portugal. It was written by Diaz on a palm-tree leaf, and signed by the Zamorin, and was in these laconic terms : Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of thy house, came to my country, of whose coming I was glad. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious stones. The things which I am desirous of having out of thy country are silver, gold, coral, and scarlet.

Da Gama, perceiving the Zamorin's insincerity, returned no answer, farther than that he sent back all those that were Nayars, but kept the rest till his merchandise was restored. He also sent the king the stone he asked for. Next day Bontaibo came aboard, and told the General that the kotwal, by the king's order, had seized all his effects, saying he was a Christian, and had been sent overland by the King of Portugal as a spy. He added that he knew it was all done by the procurement of the Moors ; and that not doubting as they had taken his goods they would injure his person, he had fled away to avoid their malice. Da Gama was glad of his coming and ordered a cabin for him, telling him that when he came to Portugal he should meet with ample amends for the loss of his goods.

After this there came three almadias with certain scarfs laid on the benches, which they said was all the merchandise, desiring the Malabars might be delivered them in return. But da Gama, perceiving it was only a trick, told them he would have none

of their merchandise, but would carry the Malabars to Portugal to confirm his discovery; he added that he would shortly return to Calicut, and then the king should know whether the Christians were thieves, as the Moors had persuaded him, at whose instigation he had done them much wrong.

Da Gama immediately departed. Two days after, being becalmed a league from Calicut, there advanced towards them sixty *tonys* [1] full of soldiers, sent by the Zamorin to take the ships; but by means of the ordnance, and a gale which sprung up, the fleet got clear; the Malabars following them for an hour and a half.

Notwithstanding these injuries received from the Zamorin, the General, having the good of the next ships that should be sent to India in view, thought fit to send him a soothing letter, which was written in Arabic by Bontaibo; wherein he made an apology for carrying away the Malabars, and not leaving a factor behind on account of the Moors, with great tenders of service on his own part. He farther assured him that the king would be glad of his friendship,

[1] A *toni* or 'dhoni,' is properly speaking a 'dug-out,' that is a boat made by hollowing out a log of wood. The word was, however, applied to craft of various descriptions, including vessels large enough to carry passengers and cargoes of merchandise up and down the coast. Yule (*Glossary*, p. 323) suggests the Tamil *tunduga*, 'to scoop out,' as the derivation of *toni*.

The word *almadia*, which the Portuguese frequently applied to small native craft, is, according to Yule, the Arabic word *al-ma'diya*, the literal meaning of which is 'a raft.'

and send him by the next fleet plenty of the merchandises he demanded, concluding that the trade which his city would thenceforth have with the Portuguese would redound greatly to his advantage. This letter was sent by one of the Malabars, and was delivered to the king.

V

THE BATTLE OF KHANWAH

(Babar[1])

Babar's victory over Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat in 1526, though it placed him on the throne at Delhi, by no means made him master of Hindustan. The Hindu states of Rajputana, united under the sway of Rana Sanga, the dauntless chieftain of Chitor, not only acted as a barrier against the extension of his power to the west, but constituted a serious menace to the safety of his newly acquired kingdom. His seizure of the fortresses of Biana, Dholpur, and Gwalior speedily led, as Babar doubtless knew that it must, to a state of war; and in the beginning of 1527, nine months after the battle of Panipat, the Rana was in the field, with an army formidable not only by reason of its numbers and the proved ability of its commander, but still more by reason of the spirit of self-sacrifice which animated its ranks, and which had already brought it victory in more than one pitched battle with the imperial forces.

The Rana's first objective was Biana, which he regarded as his rightful possession. The fortress was besieged with such vigour that Babar was forced to abandon it, and the garrison was withdrawn to Sikri, where the main body of the Mogul army was encamped. Shortly afterwards, Babar's advance guard which, under its leader Abdul Aziz had ventured too far afield, fell in with a body of Rajput horse, and in the encounter which

[1] In his celebrated *Memoirs* Babar has left us a record of eighteen years of his life. These years do not represent a continuous period; for there are considerable gaps in the narrative, which opens in June 1494, when the author, then in his twelfth year, became King of Ferghana, and closes, or rather breaks off

ensued, the Mogul force was completely routed, and pursued to within sight of the imperial lines. This affair took place on, or about, the 18th of February, and coming as it did close upon the loss of Biana, spread something like a panic amongst the Mogul troops. Instead of following up his advantage, the Rana, for reasons which are still a mystery, withdrew to his encampment, and for nearly a month left Babar unmolested. The account here reproduced takes up the story a few days before the defeat of Abdul Aziz.

On Monday, the 9th of the first Jumadi (Feb. 11), I began my march to the holy war against the heathen. Having passed the suburbs (of Agra), I encamped on the plain, where I halted three or four days, to collect the army and communicate the necessary instructions. . . .

in the middle of a sentence, in September 1529, nine months before his death. Babar wrote in Turki, his native tongue, and the *Memoirs* were subsequently translated into Persian by Mirza Abdu-r-Rahim, the gifted son of Bairam Khan, and by other Muhammadan writers. The best English version is that by Erskine and Leyden, which is not only a faithful and scholarly translation, but conveys in a remarkable degree the spirit and dignity of the original work. It first appeared in 1826, and was re-published in 1921 by the Oxford University Press, under the editorship of Sir Lucas King. Erskine's translation is based on the best Persian texts, carefully compared with the original Turki. A new translation by Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, made from the original Turki text, was published in 1922. The accuracy of this version, combined with the valuable introduction and erudite notes which accompany it, render it the most complete and authoritative study of the *Memoirs* that has yet appeared. The style of the translation, however, is not of a kind to attract the general reader, and, from a literary point of view, is inferior to that of Erskine's work, which must still be regarded as the standard English version.

For a full account of the *Memoirs*, and of the various Turki and Persian texts, the reader is referred to the introductions to

At this station we received information that Rana Sanga had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Biana. The party that had been sent out in advance were not able to reach the fort, nor even to communicate with it. The garrison of Biana had advanced too far from the fort, and with too little caution, and the enemy having unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them.

the works cited above, and to the first chapter of Professor Stanley Lane-Poole's *Babar*, in the " Rulers of India " series.

Babar was the son of Umar Shaikh Mirza, the King of Ferghana, and great-great-grandson of Timur (Tamerlane). He succeeded to his father's throne in 1494. Three years later, he conquered Samarkand ; but in a short time was driven out of both kingdoms. In 1504, after many hardships and romantic adventures, he conquered Kabul, and for the next fourteen years laboured to recover his lost Transoxiana sovereignty. Foiled in his efforts, he turned his attention, in 1519, to India, and between that year and 1526 crossed the Indus five times. On the last occasion he overcame the Afghan ruler of Delhi at the battle of Panipat. " The fifth time," to quote his own words, " God Most High, of His mercy and grace, cast down and defeated so powerful an enemy as Sultan Ibrahim, and made me master and conqueror of the mighty empire of Hindustan." Courage, the kind that is strengthened by calamity, endurance, self-control, and unfailing cheerfulness were the outstanding features of Babar's character. His instincts were, for the most part, refined, and he cultivated refinement. Beauty in any form attracted him, and his delight in nature found frequent expression in songs and odes of considerable poetic merit. Mirza Haidar, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, tells us that, in addition to his *Memoirs*, he composed a *divan*, or collection of odes, invented a style of verse called *mubaiyan*, wrote an ' essay ' on Turki prosody, and a treatise on jurisprudence. He also, says the same writer, " excelled in music and other arts. Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor did any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures."

Sangar Khan Janjua fell on this occasion. When the affair began, Kitta Beg came galloping up without his armour, and joined in the action. He had dismounted a Pagan, and was in the act of laying hold of him, when the Hindu, snatching a sword from a servant of Kitta Beg, struck the Beg on the shoulder, and wounded him so severely, that he was not able to come into the field during the rest of the war with Rana Sanga. He, however, recovered long after, but never was completely well. Kismi, Shah Mansur Birlas, and any man that came from Biana, I know not whether from fear, or for the purpose of striking a panic into the people, bestowed unbounded praise on the courage and hardihood of the pagan army.

Marching hence, I sent for Kasim, the master of the horse, to open a number of wells in the parganna of Madhakur, which was the place where the army was to encamp.

On Saturday, the 14th of the first Jumadi, I marched from the vicinity of Agra, and encamped in the ground where the wells had been dug.

Next morning I marched from that ground. It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all the places in the neighbourhood, Sikri[1] being that in

[1] Erskine has the following note:—Sikri was a favourite place of Babar's; he built a palace and laid out a garden there. When his grandson Akbar made his pilgrimage on foot, from Agra to Ajmir, to the tomb of Khawjah Mundi, and back, to procure the Saint's intercession for his having male children, he visited a Dervish named Selim at Sikri, and learned from him that God

which water was most abundant, was, upon the whole, the most desirable situation for a camp; but that it was possible that the Pagans might anticipate us, take possession of the water, and encamp there. I therefore drew up my army in order of battle, with right and left wing and main body, and advanced forward in battle array. I sent on Darvesh Muhammad Sarban with Kismi, who had gone to Biana and turned back, and who had seen and knew every part of the country; ordering him to proceed to the banks of the Tank of Sikri and to look out for a good ground for encamping. On reaching my station, I sent a messenger to Mahdi Khwaja,[1] to direct him to come and join me without delay, with the force that was in Biana. At the same time I sent a servant of Humayun's, one Beg Mirak Mogul, with a body of troops, to get notice of the motions of the Pagans. They accordingly set

had heard his prayers, and that he would have three sons.—"This prophecy," says Thevenot, "was so pleasing to Akbar, especially when it began to be accomplished, that he called his eldest son Selim after the Dervish, and gave the town, which formerly had been called Sikri, the name of Fatehpur, which signifies place of joy and pleasure, and built there a very beautiful palace, with the intention of making it his capital."—Thevenot's *Travels*, vol. v. p. 148.

[1] Mahdi Khwaja was Babar's brother-in-law (Abul Fazl calls him son-in-law). He had been placed in command at Biana. On the Emperor's death, he aspired to the throne, and obtained for a time the support of Khalifa. But learning that the success of Mahdi Khwaja would in all probability result in his own downfall, the old Minister had the wisdom to seize and confine the would-be usurper, and to transfer his allegiance to Humayun.

out by night, and next morning returned with the information, that the enemy were encamped a *kos* on this side of Basawur. The same day Mahdi Khwaja, with Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and the light troops that had been sent to Biana, returned and joined us.

I had directed that the different Begs should have charge of the advance guard and scouts in turn. When it was Abdul Aziz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced as far as Khanwah, which is five *kos* [1] from Sikri. The Pagans were on their march forward when they got notice of his imprudent and disorderly advance, which they no sooner learned, than a body of five thousand of them at once pushed on and fell upon him. Abdul Aziz and Mulla Apak had with them about a thousand or fifteen hundred men. Without taking into consideration the numbers or position of the enemy, they immediately engaged. On the very first charge, a number of their men were taken prisoners and carried off the field.

The moment this intelligence arrived, I dispatched Muhib Ali Khalifa, with his followers, to reinforce them. Mulla Husain and some others were sent close after to their support, being directed to push on

[1] The distance represented by a *kos* has varied at different periods. Erskine put Babar's *kos* at 4000 paces of thirty inches each, making it equal 1 mile, 7 furlongs, 33 yards. Akbar's *kos* was, according to Blochmann, equal to nearly two and a quarter English miles. To-day, the measure is generally taken to represent two miles; but it varies all over India.

each according to the speed of his horse. I then detached Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang to cover their retreat. Before the arrival of the first reinforcement, consisting of Muhib Ali Khalifa and his party, they had reduced Abdul Aziz and his detachment to great straits, and taken his horse-tail standard, and taken and put to death Mulla Niamat, Mulla Daud, and Mulla Apak's younger brother, besides a number of others. No sooner did the first reinforcement come up, than Tahir Tibri, the maternal uncle of Muhib Ali, made a push forward, but was unable to effect a junction with his friends, and got into the midst of the enemy. Muhib Ali himself was thrown down in the action, but Baltu making a charge from behind, succeeded in bringing him off. They pursued our troops a full *kos*, but halted the moment they descried Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang's troops from a distance.

Messengers now arrived in rapid succession, to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour; we arrayed our horses in their mail, and were no sooner accoutred than we mounted and rode out; I likewise ordered the guns to advance. After making a *kos* we found that the enemy had retreated.

There being a large tank on our left, I encamped there to have the benefit of the water. We fortified the guns in front, and connected them by chains. Between every two guns we left a space of seven

or eight *gaz*, which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rumi had disposed the guns according to the Rumi fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery.[1] As Ustad

[1] Mrs. Beveridge renders this passage as follows: "Our front was defended by carts chained together, the space between each two, across which the chains stretched, being 7 or 8 *qari* (*circa* yards). Mustafa *Rumi* had had the carts made in the Rumi way, excellent carts, very strong and suitable." The important difference lies, not in the transference of the adjective 'excellent' from Mustafa Rumi to the vehicles he employed, but in the interpretation of the Persian word *arabah*. This word can mean either a gun-carriage, or a cart. Erskine always takes it in the former sense, and usually translates it, as here, 'guns.' Mrs. Beveridge, in every case where it occurs, translates it 'carts,' on the ground that Babar could not possibly have had at his disposal the large number of guns that Erskine's interpretation implies. In this, she has the support of M. Pavet de Courteille, who, in his French version of Babar's work (*Mémoires de Baber*, Paris, 1872), translates *arabah* by the word *chariot*. Professor Stanley Lane-Poole, in a valuable note on page 161 of his *Babar*, upholds Erskine's rendering; but side by side with this should be read Mrs. Beveridge's note in vol. ii. (p. 468) of her *Babur-nama*. It seems reasonable to assume that, both in this battle and at Panipat, such guns as Babar had—their number was doubtless small—were used, as well as carts, in forming the breastworks. These structures must frequently have been of a rough and ready nature. Jauhar, in his *Memoirs of Humayun*, thus describes one made under his directions by the troops that pursued Sikandar Sur, after his defeat at the battle of Sirhind:

"As I was aware of the inferiority of our numbers, I conjured the chiefs not to think of moving until provided with (Arabeh) carriages: they listened to my advice, and I immediately ordered a quantity of timber which had been brought for repairing the fort to be sawn up, and made into coarse carriages; I further said, here are a number of old chains will answer for some of the hooks and links, the remainder may be made of raw leather, which in fact is better for fastening the carriages together than iron: in short, we made a number of these carriages sufficient to

Ali Kuli was jealous of him,[1] I had stationed Mustafa on the right with Humayun. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustani and Khorasani pioneers and spade men to run a ditch. In consequence of the bold and unexpected advance of the pagans, joined to the result of the engagement that had taken place at Biana, aided by the praises and encomiums passed on them by Shah Mansur, Kismi, and those who had come from Biana, there was an evident alarm diffused among the troops; the defeat of Abdul Aziz completed this panic. In order to reassure my troops, and to add to the apparent strength of my position, wherever there were not guns, I directed things like tripods to be made of wood, and the spaces between each of them,

surround the troops, and prevent the enemy from charging on them. . . . After this the general advanced by easy marches towards the Emperor Sekunder, and every night surrounded his camp, with the *carriages* chained or tied together with leathern ropes, or with entrenchments." (Jauhar, tr. Stewart, pp. 117-8.) *Rumi* means 'Turkish.' The Turks appear to have copied this particular form of barricade from the Bohemians, and to have used it in their wars against the Persians. (*Vide* Prof. Lane-Poole's note, referred to above.)

[1] Babar evidently had to use tact in the management of his rival gunners. Both Ustad Ali Kuli and Mustafa Rumi were veterans in his service; and both had earned his favour by distinguished conduct at Panipat, and in other engagements. Ustad Ali was skilled both in the use and manufacture of ordnance, and the heavy guns used in these battles were of his casting. At Panipat, it was Ustad Ali who had been intrusted with the construction of the breastworks; and it may have been the preference shown on this occasion to Mustafa that excited his jealousy.

being seven or eight *gaz*,[1] to be connected and strengthened by bulls' hides twisted into ropes. Twenty or twenty-five days elapsed before these machines and furniture were finished.[2] During the interval, Kasim Husain Sultan, who was the grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza by one of his daughters, Ahmad Yusaf, Sayad Yusaf, with some who belonged to the royal camp, and a number of other men who had gathered by ones and twos from different quarters, amounting in all to five hundred persons, arrived

[1] Fifteen or sixteen feet, according to Erskine. In Akbar's reign the *gaz* was fixed at 41 finger-breadths, or 33 inches. Babar's *gaz* sometimes signified a pace (30 inches), and sometimes a cubit, which was anything from 18 inches to two feet.

[2] That the Rana did not follow up his defeat of Abdul Aziz by a general attack, was a marvellous piece of good fortune for Babar; for the delay not only enabled him to fortify his position and complete his preparations for the final struggle, but, what was of infinitely greater importance, gave him time to put new heart into his troops. There seems to be no better way of accounting for the Rana's inactivity during these twenty-five days than to suppose that he was unaware of the extent to which the Mogul army was demoralised by his recent successes. It may be, however, that the Rajput account is worthy of more credence than it has received. According to that account, which Tod evidently accepted as genuine (*vide* his *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 305), the interval was used in a fruitless attempt to arrange a treaty. Sillaidi, the Tuar chieftain of Raisen, was the envoy chosen to conduct the negotiations on behalf of the Rajputs. This chief, we are given to understand, allowed himself, during his sojourn in the Mogul camp, to be bought over by Babar, and he came back to the Rana "without a treaty and with treachery in his heart." On the day of the battle, Sillaidi led the Rajput van, and, while the issue was still in doubt, went over, with the whole of his following, to the enemy. The strongest argument for the rejection of this story

from Kabul. Muhammad Sharif the astrologer, a rascally fellow, came along with them. Baba Dost Suchi, who had been sent to Kabul for wine, came back with some choice wine of Ghazni, laden on three strings of camels, and arrived in their company. While the army was yet in the state of alarm and panic that has been mentioned, in consequence of past events and of ill-timed and idle observations that had been spread abroad, that evil-minded wretch Muhammad Sharif, instead of giving me any assistance, loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villainous sooth-sayer was consequently still farther depressed.

is not its omission from the writings of the Muhammadan chroniclers, but the fact that Babar himself, in a work the outstanding features of which are its truthfulness and "utter frankness," makes no mention of it. It must be recollected, however, that in the *Memoirs* we do not get Babar's own account of the battle, which may quite conceivably have been cut out to make room for Shaikh Zain's grandiloquent 'official report.' The tedious rhetoric and general obscurity of the latter sort so ill with the style of the *Memoirs*, that it is difficult to believe that it was inserted with Babar's consent. The sentence which precedes it in the text is clear enough on this point; but its style suggests a doubt as to whether Babar wrote it. There can be little doubt that the period of inactivity which preceded this momentous contest was prolonged by negotiations. Whether or not Babar 'bought' the Rajput envoy, we shall probably never know; but it is certainly easier to believe that he gained his respite by his own diplomacy, than that he owed it entirely to the Rana's stupidity.

Without listening to his foolish predictions, I proceeded in taking the steps which the emergency seemed to demand, and used every exertion to put my troops in a fit state to engage the enemy.

On Sunday 21st,[1] I sent Shaikh Jumali to collect as many bowmen of the Doab and Delhi as he could, to proceed with them to plunder the country of Mewat,[2] and to leave nothing undone to annoy and distress these districts. Mulla Turk Ali, who had come from Kabul, was instructed to accompany Shaikh Jumali, and to see that everything possible was done to plunder and ruin Mewat. Similar orders were given to Maghfur Diwan, who was instructed to proceed to ravage and desolate some of the bordering and remoter districts, ruining the country, and carrying off the inhabitants into captivity. They did not, however, appear to have suffered much from these proceedings.

[1] This is clearly a mistake for 'Sunday 22nd.'

[2] Mewat is the hilly region lying to the south of Delhi, and extending southwards almost to the Chambal. It now includes the state of Alwar, and a portion of the Mathura district. Babar's wrath against Mewat was by no means unprovoked. The ruler of the district was a chieftain named Hasan Khan, whose son, at the commencement of the war with the Rajputs, was a hostage in Babar's hands. When the Rana set out to attack Biana, Babar, with a view to conciliate Hasan Khan and secure his co-operation, released and sent back to him his son. But his magnanimous policy met with no success; for, as soon as Hasan Khan was assured of his son's safety, he threw in his lot with the Rana. But Babar had his revenge; for, a month later, Hasan Khan, with the bulk of his following, was slain on the field of Khanwah.

On Monday the 23rd of the first Jumadi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. I said to myself, O, my soul!

How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin?
Repentance is not unpalatable—Taste it.

How great has been thy defilement from sin!—
How much pleasure thou didst take in despair!—
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions!—
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away!—
Since thou hast set out on a Holy War,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest.
Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments;
Cleanse thyself from all thy sins.

Having withdrawn myself from such temptations, I vowed never more to touch wine.[1] Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the

[1] The making, *and keeping*, of this vow cannot but be regarded as one of Babar's most remarkable achievements. For years he had indulged to excess in wine and other intoxicating liquors. His drinking parties were, at one period, almost a daily institution; and they not infrequently terminated in scenes of wild debauchery. But even in his most bacchanalian days Babar was not, in the real sense of the term, a drunkard. Of the dipsomaniac's morbid craving for stimulants he knew nothing. With him, drinking to excess was a pastime, rather than a disease. He loved wine, not for its own sake, but for the jest, the song, and the revelry

other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided amongst darveshes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas,[1] who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of Amirs, courtiers, soldiers and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Baba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out I directed

which accompanied it. "His intemperance," says Professor Lane-Poole, "was really a part of his gay, genial sunny nature. He was *bon camarade* to his many friends, and among them it was a mark of good comradeship to pledge one another in the bowl. If he often degraded himself in times of idleness, he knew how to stop when there was work afoot, and he was able to conquer his vice in a supreme and final act of penitence." Amongst Eastern races, the drink habit, once it has been acquired, seldom loosens its grip on its victim. In Babar's case, the habit was not only acquired, but hereditary, and the completeness of his renunciation—his vow once made, he never touched wine again—is, therefore, the more remarkable. It was a victory that could only have been won by the display of immense self-control, and a high degree of moral courage. Babar's excesses have left an ugly stain on his career; but they led up to his grand atonement, and the picture would be the poorer without them.

[1] According to Firishta, Asas was Babar's jester.

a wain to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wain an alms-house to be erected. In the month of Muharram, in the year 935, when I went to visit Gwalior, in my way from Dholpur to Sikri, I found this wain completed. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rana Sanga the pagan, I would remit the *tamgha* (or stamp-tax) levied from Mussalmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Darvesh Muhammad Sarban and Shaikh Zain put me in mind of my promise. I said, "You did right to remind me of this. I renounce the *tamgha* in all my dominions, so far as concerns Mussalmans"; and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions Firmans, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred.

At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Wazirs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amirs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. During the whole course of the expedition Khalifa [1] conducted himself admirably, and was

[1] Khalifa was, at this time, Babar's Prime Minister, to which office he had been raised on account, Abul Fazl tells us, "of his long service, trustworthiness, soundness of understanding and steadfastness of counsel." He was also "a successful physician."

unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed them,—"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life, must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy!

> With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
> Let fame be mine, since my body is Death's.

The most high God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God.[1] Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle

[1] An expansion of the proverb,

> *Mare to shahíd, máre to gázi.*
> A martyr if killed, a Ghazi if he kills.

Ghazi signifies one who fights for Islam: one who slays an infidel. In the Turkish Empire (according to Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*) the word is used as a military title, implying something similar to our 'Field Marshal.'

and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Koran in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe.

The danger and confusion on all sides were particularly alarming at this very moment. Husain Khan Lohari had advanced and taken Raberi. Kutb Khan's people had taken Chandwar. A man of the name of Rustam Khan, having assembled a body of Doab bowmen, had come and taken Koel, and made Kichek Ali prisoner. Zahid had been compelled to evacuate Sambal and had rejoined me. Sultan Muhammad Duldai had retired from Kanouj, and joined my army. The Pagans of the surrounding country came and blockaded Gwalior. Alim Khan who had been sent to the succour of Gwalior, instead of proceeding to that place, had marched off to his own country. Every day some unpleasant news reached us from one place or another. Many Hindustanis began to desert from the army. Haibat Khan Gurg-andaz fled to Sambal. Hasan Khan Bariwal fled and joined the Pagans. Without minding the fugitives, we continued to regard only our own force. On Tuesday, the 9th of the latter Jumadi, on the day of the *nauroz*, I advanced my guns, and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared,

and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre, in battle order. I sent forward in front the guns and tripods placed on wheel-carriages. Behind them was stationed Ustad Ali Kuli, with a body of matchlock-men, to prevent the communication between the artillery and infantry, who were behind, from being cut off, and to enable them to advance and form into line. After the ranks were formed, and every man stationed in his place, I galloped along the line, animating the Begs and troops of the centre, right and left, giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself, and in what manner he was to engage ; and having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a *kos*, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on getting notice of our motions, were on the alert, and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and ditch.

After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front, as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought away. Malik Kasim also cut off and brought in some heads. He behaved extremely well. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively,

and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves.

Next morning, I marched from that station, with the intention of offering battle; when Khalifa and some of my advisers represented to me, that as the ground on which we had fixed for halting was near at hand, it would be proper, in the first place, to throw up a ditch and to fortify it, after which we might march forward and occupy the position. Khalifa accordingly mounted to give directions about the ditch, and rejoined us, after having set pioneers to work on the different parts of it, and appointed proper persons to superintend their progress.

On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jumadi, having dragged forward our guns, and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array, for nearly a *kos*, we reached the ground that had been prepared for us. Many tents were already pitched, and they were engaged in pitching others, when news was brought that the enemy's army was in sight. I immediately mounted, and gave orders that every man should, without delay, repair to his post, and that the guns and lines should be properly strengthened. As the letter announcing my subsequent victory contains a clear detailed account of the circumstances of the Army of the Faith, the number of the Pagan bands, the order of battle and arrangements of both the Mussalman and Pagan armies, I shall therefore subjoin the official despatch, announc-

ing the victory, as composed by Shaikh Zain, without adding or taking away.[1]

"The battle began about half past nine in the morning, by a desperate charge made by the Rajputs on Babar's right. Bodies of the reserve were pushed on to its assistance; and Mustafa Rumi, who commanded one portion of the artillery and matchlocks on the right of the centre, opened a fire on the assailants. Still, new bodies of the enemy poured on undauntedly, and new detachments from the reserve were sent to resist them. The battle was no less desperate on the left, to which also it was found necessary to despatch repeated parties from the reserve. When the battle had lasted several hours, and still continued to rage, Babar sent orders to the flanking columns to wheel round and charge;

[1] In view of the length, and the somewhat overpowering bouquet of Shaikh Zain's 'official dispatch,' the editor has followed the example of Professor Stanley Lane-Pool, and substituted for it Erskine's skilful paraphrase. That the reader may not miss altogether the fragrance of this *morceau d'eloquence*, the learned Shaikh's description of the final onset of the Mogul troops is here appended:

"As the combat and battle were drawn out to length and extended in time, the mandate worthy of obedience was issued, when straightway the bold warriors of the imperial household troops, and the rending warriors, united in mind, who were standing behind the cannon, like lions in chains . . . engaged on both sides, and darted forth from behind the carriages, like the rising van of the true dawn from below the horizon; and spilling the ruddy crepuscle-coloured blood of the infidel Pagans in combat, on the field wide as the rolling firmament, caused many of the heads of the rebels to fly like falling stars from the sky of their bodies" (Erskine's *Babar*, p. 365).

and he soon after ordered the guns to advance, and, by a simultaneous movement, the household troops and cavalry stationed behind the cannon were ordered to gallop out on the right and left of the matchlock men in the centre, who also moved forward and continued their fire, hastening to fling themselves with all their fury on the enemy's centre. When this was observed in the wings, they also advanced. These unexpected movements, made at the same moment, threw the enemy into confusion. Their centre was shaken ; the men who were displaced by the attack made in flank, on the wings and rear, were forced upon the centre and crowded together. Still the gallant Rajputs were not appalled. They made repeated and desperate attacks on the Emperor's centre, in the hopes of recovering the day ; but were bravely and steadily received, and swept away in great numbers. Towards evening the confusion was complete, and the slaughter was consequently dreadful. The fate of the battle was decided. Nothing remained for the Rajputs but to force their way through the bodies of the enemy that were now in their rear, and to effect a retreat."

After this victory I used the epithet *Ghazi*, in the imperial titles. On the *Fatehnamah* (or official account of the victory), below the imperial titles (inscribed on the back of the despatches), I wrote the following verses :

For love of the Faith I became a wanderer in the desert,
I became the antagonist of Pagans and Hindus,

I strove to make myself a martyr ;—
Thanks to the Almighty God who has made me a Ghazi, (victorious over the enemies of the Faith).

Having defeated the enemy, we pursued them with great slaughter. The camp might be two *kos* distant from ours. On reaching it, I sent Muhammadi, Abdul Aziz, Ali Khan, and some other officers, with orders to follow them in close pursuit, slaying and cutting them off, so that they should not have time to re-assemble. In this instance I was guilty of neglect ; I should myself have gone on and urged the pursuit, and ought not to have entrusted that business to another.[1] I had got about a *kos* beyond the enemy's camp when I turned back, the day being spent, and reached my own about bed-time prayers. Muhammad Sharif, the astrologer, whose preverse and seditious practices I have mentioned,

[1] The escape of the Rajput leader must have been a serious disappointment to Babar ; for his capture would have increased both the lustre and the fruits of the Mogul triumph. Rana Sanga was the main-spring of the Rajput cause ; and while he had life and freedom, that cause was not likely to be abandoned. Of this Babar was fully aware ; and the self-reproach to which he here gives vent, is, as Tod observes, "honourable to Sanga." It is also honourable to Babar that, more than once in the pages of the *Memoirs*, he pays tribute to the prowess and eminent merits of his antagonist.

But the valiant chieftain of Chitor had made his last bid for the sovereignty of Hindustan. After the battle, he retreated "towards the hills of Mewat, having announced his fixed determination never to re-enter Cheetore but with victory. Had his life been spared to his country, he might have redeemed the pledge ; but the year of his defeat was the last of his existence, and he died at Buswa, on the frontier of Mewat, not without

came to congratulate me on my victory. I poured forth a torrent of abuse upon him ; and when I had relieved my heart by it, although he was heathenishly inclined, perverse, extremely self-conceited, and an insufferable evil-speaker, yet, as he had been my old servant, I gave him a lak as a present, and dismissed him, commanding him not to remain within my dominions.

Next day we continued on the same ground. I despatched Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang, Shaikh Kuran, and Abdul Malik Korchi, with a large force against Ilias Khan, who had made an insurrection in the Doab, surprised Koel, and taken Kichek Ali prisoner. On the arrival of my detachment, the enemy, finding that they could not cope with them, fled in all directions, in confusion and dismay. Some days after my return to Agra, Ilias Khan was taken and brought in. I ordered him to be flayed alive.[1]

suspicion of poison. . . . He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior ; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother ; an arm in an action with the Lodi king of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another ; while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body" (Tod's *Rajastan*, vol. i. p. 307).

[1] The punishment inflicted on Ilias Khan is not a solitary instance of Babar's brutal severity. Not very long before the Battle of Khanwah, an attempt, which was all but successful, was made to poison him. The deed was traced to the imperial kitchens, and the culprits were caught and arraigned before the justly enraged monarch, who thus records his mode of dealing with them: "The taster was ordered to be cut to pieces. I

The battle was fought within view of a small hill near our camp. On this hillock, I directed a tower of the skulls of the infidels to be constructed. From this encampment, the third march brought us to Biana. Immense numbers of the dead bodies of the Pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight, all the way to Biana, and even as far as Alwar and Mewat.

commanded the cook to be flayed alive. One of the women was ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant; the other I commanded to be shot with a match-lock." This 'bloody revenge' seems in strange contrast with the character of one who, in so many respects, transcended the moral and intellectual limitations of his age. By an ample atonement, Babar redeemed the stain left by his drunken revels; but in this case it is otherwise. We search the *Memoirs* in vain for any trace of remorse.

But it is by the standard of the Middle Ages that Babar must be judged. The history of the world is largely a history of the fluctuations of moral values; and the judgements we pass on those of a by-gone age are of small worth if they fail to take into account the 'rate of exchange.' In the eyes of his contemporaries Babar was by no means an ogre. Indeed, Mirza Haidar, a writer of acknowledged repute, places humanity amongst the virtues for which he was pre-eminently distinguished. "This prince," he says, "was adorned with various virtues, and clad with numerous good qualities, above all of which bravery and humanity had the ascendant" (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Elias and Ross, p. 173). Mirza Haidar's estimate, though it may not tally with our own, is valuable, if only for the evidence it affords of the moral outlook of the times.

VI

FOUNDING THE MOGUL EMPIRE

(Firishta [1])

The foundation-stone of the Mogul Empire was first placed in position by Babar. It was removed by Sher Shah; put back again by Humayun; and, finally, well and truly laid by Akbar. With these names must be bracketed that of Bairam Khan Turkoman; for though the founding of empires is generally regarded as the special prerogative of kings, the fact remains that, but for Bairam Khan, the Mogul Empire would never have been founded. Babar expelled the Afghan house of Lodi from Delhi, but died before he had subdued Sher Shah, the daring and exceedingly capable Afghan governor of Bengal. The latter, after a protracted struggle, succeeded, in 1539, in driving Humayun out of India. For the next five years the discomfited monarch led a hand to mouth existence, wandering about Asia in search of a kingdom. Finally, in 1545, with the aid of troops borrowed from the Shah of Persia, he succeeded in wresting Kandahar and Kabul from his brother Kamran. At Kabul he was joined by his wife, Humida Begam, and his infant son Akbar,

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[1] Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Firishta, was born at Astrabad on the shores of the Caspian Sea about the year 1570. We first hear of him at Ahmadnagar, and later at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah, ruler of Bijapur, in whose service he spent the greater portion of his life. Ibrahim Adil Shah was a patron of literature, and it was at his request that Firishta undertook to write a history of the Muhammadans in India. Having in course of time brought his work to a close, he presented

born during his wanderings. In 1553, after the final submission of Kamran, and the brutal punishment inflicted on him, Humayun began to feel his royal legs again ; while, about the same time, news began to filter through from India which revived his hopes of recovering the kingdom of Delhi. Salim Shah Sur, who had succeeded his father Sher Shah in 1544, was now dead ; and a fierce contest for the throne was in progress. The principal claimants were Sikandar Shah Sur, a nephew of Sher Shah, and Adali Shah, a brother of the deceased king. The Punjab was held by the former, and Bengal by the latter. Adali Shah was personally of no great account ; but he was served by an exceptionally able vizier, a Hindu of low extraction named Hemu, who, as an administrator and military leader, was little inferior to Bairam Khan. Sikandar Shah Sur had a better title to succeed to the throne than Adali, against whom he was preparing to march, when he heard that Humayun had crossed the Indus. The narrative here presented opens towards the end of the year 1554, just before Humayun had made up his mind to march into India.

It was at this time that letters were received from some of the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humayun of the death of Salim Shah Sur. They also stated that the Afghan tribes being engaged in civil war, a favourable opportunity presented itself for Humayun to return and take possession of

it, as he tells us in his preface, under the title of ' The History of Firishta ' to his " revered Monarch, to whom his labours are thus humbly dedicated." The account of Akbar's reign is based partly on the writer's personal knowledge, but mainly on the *Akbarnama* of Abul Fazl, and the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. Firishta used his authorities with judgment ; and as he wrote without bias, and unfettered by personal fears or restrictions, his narrative is more reliable than that of any other Muhammadan writer of the period. The works of Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, more especially the former, are of the highest value ; but both writers were among Akbar's most accomplished and favoured courtiers ; and when truth clashed

his kingdom. Being in no condition to raise a sufficient army for the enterprise, Humayun paid little attention to the invitation, and became extremely melancholy. Being one day on a hunting party, he told some of his nobles, that he was very uneasy in his mind regarding Hindustan. One of those who were in favour of the enterprise, observed, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion good or bad might be drawn. The King, being naturally superstitious, honoured the fancy, and sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned, said that he had met with a traveller whose name was Daulat (empire). The next said that he met a man who called himself Murad (the object of desire). And the third that

with courtliness, the former had all too frequently to yield place to the latter. Of other Muhammadan chronicles, the most valuable is the *Tarikh-i-Badaoni* by Abdul Kadir of Badaon, usually known as Badaoni. This writer was a zealous Sunni, and bitterly opposed to Akbar's religious views. His narrative generally is hostile to Akbar, and much that was suppressed by other writers is revealed in his pages. In the opinion of Elphinstone, the *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*, though coloured by the writer's prejudices, presents a much more favourable impression of Akbar than the work of his panegyrist Abul Fazl (*vide* Elphinstone's *History of India*, edited by E. B. Cowell, 1889, p. 549).

The passage which forms the text is taken from the translation of John Briggs. Square brackets indicate that the portions enclosed are abridgements. The spelling of proper names has been modernised.

he met with a villager whose name was Saadat (good fortune).

The King evinced great joy on this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen hundred horse, determined to undertake the expedition into India. Having left Mun'im Khan in charge of the government of Kabul, and making over his youngest son, Muhammad Hakim Mirza, to his hands, Humayun, in the month of Safar, 962 (Dec. 1554), commenced his march from his capital. He was overtaken at Peshawar by Bairam Khan,[1] with a body of veterans from Kandahar, and on the day he crossed the Indus

[1] Bairam Khan was a member of a distinguished Turkoman family. His ancestors were Persian subjects; but his grandfather, Yar Ali Beg, quitted Persia and settled in Badakshan, in the service of Babar's arch enemy, the Amir Khusru. About the year 1504, however, Yar Ali Beg, with his son, Saif Ali Beg (Bairam Khan's father), deserted the falling fortunes of Khusru, and threw in his lot with Babar. Bairam Khan was born at Badakshan. On the death of his father, he went to Balk for the purpose of study, and subsequently joined the army of Humayun. He fought at the battle of Kanouj; but though he escaped with his life from that disastrous field, it was nearly three years before he again rejoined Humayun. Both Jauhar and Abul Fazl dilate on the warmth of the welcome he received from the fugitive king. "On hearing the joyful news of his approach," says Jauhar, "the King ordered all the chiefs to go out and meet him: he was shortly introduced, and had the honour of being presented to his Majesty, who was much rejoiced by the arrival of so celebrated a character." Abul Fazl says that Humayun called a halt of three days to celebrate the occasion. If Blochmann is correct in stating that Bairam Khan was only sixteen years of age when he fought at Kanouj, his rise to fame must have been extremely rapid. There is a wide difference between this and Erskine's statement, that Bairam Khan assisted Babar in the conquest of Transoxiana in 1512, which would make him

he appointed Bairam Khan his general in chief, and ordered him to lead the advance, accompanied by Khizr Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Sikandar Khan Usbeg, and Ali Kuli Khan Shaibani.[1]

On the approach of the Mogul army, Tartar Khan, the Afghan governor of Punjab, commanding the

well over forty at the time of the battle of Kanouj. When, in 1544, Humayun visited the court of the Persian ruler, Shah Tahmasp, Bairam Khan acted as his representative, and conducted the negotiations with the Shah, who conferred upon him the title of *Khan*.

[1] The nobles at the court of the Mogul rulers of India consisted mainly of two parties—more often better described as rival factions—Turks and Persians. The former were either Chagatais or Usbegs. The Chagatai Turks derived their name from Jagatai, a son of Chingiz Khan, who ruled the country they occupied on the far side of the Oxus. They were in a perpetual state of war with the Usbegs, who in Babar's time held possession of Transoxiana. Akbar was himself descended, in the male line, from the Chagatai Turks ; but his mother was a Persian lady. His Mogul blood came to him through Babar's mother, who was a daughter of Yunus Khan, the chief of Farghana, and a descendant of Chingiz Khan. Amongst the nobles here mentioned, the most important were Ali Kuli Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, and Mun'im Khan.

Ali Kuli Khan, better known as Khan Zaman, was an Usbeg Turk. Next to Bairam Khan, he was the greatest of the Mogul generals. He was in command at the second battle of Panipat, and his victory on that occasion was the final step in the restoration of the Mogul empire. Ten years later, when governor of Jaunpur, he headed a rebellion and was killed in a battle with the imperial troops. "Next to Bairam Khan," says Blochmann (*Ain*, i. p. 319), "the restoration of the Mogul Dynasty may be justly ascribed to him (Ali Kuli Khan)."

Tardi Beg Khan was one of the most powerful nobles of the Mogul court. The fact that he "began life as a dervish, and ended as a distinguished general," is a sufficient proof that his talents were not of the common order. Under Babar, whom he

new fort of Rohtas,[1] having evacuated it, was closely pursued to Lahore, which the Afghans also evacuating, Humayun entered it without opposition. From Lahore he dispatched Bairam Khan to Sirhind, who occupied all the country up to that point. Humayun having received intelligence that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shahbaz Khan and

served for some years, he won distinction as a soldier, and, in his master's unregenerate days, as a boon companion. Humayun made him commander-in-chief of his army, a position he continued to hold till it was wrested from him by Bairam Khan. The bitter rivalry which existed between these two chiefs was intensified by their religious differences, Tardi Beg being a Sunni, and Bairam Khan a Shiah. Tardi Beg's allegiance was more than once in the balance ; and though Professor Cowell designates him one of the most faithful of Humayun's followers (Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 452), his view is unsupported by Muhammadan writers. Akbar made him a commander of 5000, and confirmed him as governor of Delhi. He would, doubtless, have climbed higher had he not stood in the way of Bairam Khan.

Mun'im Khan was, on the dismissal of Bairam Khan, summoned from Kabul, and appointed prime-minister, with the title ' Khan Khanan.' He was subsequently made governor of Jaunpur. In 1674, though over eighty years of age, he personally conducted the operations against Daud, who sought to establish his independence in Bengal. Mun'im Khan died the following year. In addition to various public buildings, he constructed the massive stone bridge by which the Gumti at Jaunpur is still crossed.

[1] This fortress, a few miles west of Jhilam town, had been recently constructed by Sher Khan. There is another fortress of the same name, but of much more ancient date, in Bihar. Jahangir, who visited the Panjab stronghold on his way to Kabul in 1603, says that Sher Khan built it to overawe the Gakhars, a turbulent tribe who occupied the neighbouring tracts. He adds that " over one of the doors the cost of the fort is engraven on a stone, which is set in the wall. The amount is 16,10,00,000 *dams* and something more, which is 34,25,000 rupees of Hindustan."

Nasir Khan, were assembled at Dipalpur, ordered Shah Abul Mu'ali (a Sayad, and an inhabitant of Turmaz, whom he used to honour with the appellation of son) with a strong detachment against them. Shah Abul Mu'ali overthrew the enemy, and returned with much booty to Lahore.

Sikandar Shah Sur in the mean time had ordered Tartar Khan, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse, from Delhi against Humayun. Notwithstanding the great superiority in numbers of this force, Bairam Khan Turkoman resolved to hazard an action, and having advanced boldly to meet the Indian army, pitched his camp on the banks of the Sutlej at the town of Machiwara. It being cold weather, the Indian Afghans kindled great fires of wood in their camp at night, of which Bairam Khan took advantage, and crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse. He now advanced to their camp without being discovered, when he began to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which threw them into disorder. The Afghans, notorious for blundering, instead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had a fair view of them, threw on more wood ; and the whole of Bairam Khan's army having crossed the river, fell upon them on all sides, and routed them. The Afghans on this occasion lost all their elephants, their baggage, and a number of horses. Bairam Khan sent the elephants to Humayun at Lahore, and remaining encamped at

Machiwara, he dispersed detachments in all directions, and occupied all the country up to the walls of Delhi. The King was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred on Bairam Khan the title of Khan Khanan.[1]

When the news of Tartar Khan's defeat reached Sikandar Shah Sur, he exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a large train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjab. Bairam Khan advanced as far as the fort of Nowshera, and prepared it for a siege by laying in provisions. Sikandar Shah Sur encamped before the place, and Bairam Khan sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the march of Humayun, who soon after joined. Bairam Khan in the interim made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in his camp.

On the last day of Rajab, while the Prince Akbar was visiting the pickets of the camp, the Afghans drew up their forces and offered battle. The challenge was not refused, and the young prince communicated the information with joy to his father. Humayun gave the command of the right

[1] *Khan* ('Lord' or 'Prince'; fem. *Khanum*, 'Lady') was in olden days, a very exalted title; but the frequency with which, in later years, it was conferred, or usurped, so greatly decreased its value as an indication of rank, that the Mogul kings of Delhi employed a new title, *Khan Khanan* (lit. 'Lord of Lords') for the highest noble of the State. In India to-day *Khan* is a common adjunct to Hindustani names; but it is not an indication of rank, and merely signifies, or should signify, Pathan or Persian descent (*vide* Yule's *Glossary*, p. 479).

wing to Bairam Khan, and the left to Sikandar Khan Usbeg, composed of the troops of Abdullah Khan Usbeg, Shah Abul Mu'ali, Ali Kuli Khan, and Tardi Beg Khan. These troops were directed to begin the action.

The left wing having charged, according to the orders it had received, the enemy were broken, and never after recovered from their confusion. The battle continued to rage for some time, during which Humayun and Bairam Khan displayed great good conduct, while the Prince Akbar was distinguished by feats of personal courage. The Moguls, animated by the conduct of that young hero, seemed to forget that they were mortal. The enemy was driven off the field with slaughter, and the King, Sikandar Shah Sur, fled to the mountains of Siwalik.

The victory decided the fate of the empire ; and the kingdom of Delhi fell for ever from the hands of the Afghans. On the following day Sikandar Khan Usbeg and some other chiefs were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they occupied without opposition. Humayun conferred the government of Punjab on Shah Abul Mu'ali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitives. In the month of Ramazan (June 1555), Humayun re-entered Delhi in triumph, and became a second time king of Hindustan. Bairam Khan, to whose valour and talent the King was principally indebted for his restoration, was rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned

to him. Tardi Beg Khan was appointed governor of Delhi; Agra was assigned to Sikandar Khan Usbeg; and Ali Kuli Khan was sent to Meerut and Sambal, to which province he departed with a considerable force. . . .

On the evening of the 7th of Rabbi-ul-awal (21st Dec., 1556), Humayun, after walking on the terrace of the library at Delhi for some time, sat down to enjoy the fresh air; after which, while in the act of descending the steps to go below, the *muazzin*, or crier of the royal chapel, announced the hour of prayer. The King, as is usual, stood still on the occasion, and having repeated the creed of Islam, sat down on the second step till the crier had done. When about to rise, and endeavouring to support himself on a staff he held in his hand, it slipped along the marble, and the King fell headlong over. He was taken up insensible, and laid down upon his bed, and although he soon recovered his speech, the physicians administered to him in vain; till, on the 11th of the month, about sunset, his soul took its flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, on the banks of the river; and a splendid monument was erected over him some years after, by his son Akbar. Humayun died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-five years, both in Kabul and India.

The mildness and benevolence of Humayun's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great

intrepidity, and possessed the virtue of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the society of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions, and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony. It is said on one occasion, having cause to send for one Mir Abdul Hai, whose name signifies 'Slave of the Eternal,' he called him only Abdul, 'slave of,' leaving out the last word because he had not bathed that morning, and begged his pardon accordingly.

Humayun was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. He professed the religion of Hanif,[1] of the Sunni persuasion. Kamran Mirza and some other Chagatai nobles believed him to be of the Shiah persuasion, because he gave such encouragement to Kazal-bashis [2] and the inhabitants of Irak to join his standard from his earliest years, so that many persons of eminence in Khorasan, devotees of

[1] *i.e.* the religion of Islam. The literal meaning of the Arabic word *hanif* is 'one who is inclined.' Muhammad first used the word for the Faith of Abraham, "but afterwards for any sincere professor of Islam" (see Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*).

[2] *Kazalbashis*, or *Kizilbashis* (lit. 'red-heads') is the name given to the Persianised Turks of Persia, the supposed descendants of the captives given by Shaikh Haidar to Timur. They are distinguished by their red caps or puggarees, and are of the Shiah persuasion. The Kizilbashis composed the best troops in the Persian armies. Many of them took service with the Mogul emperors, and according to Yule (*Glossary*, p. 498), not a few are to be found to-day in our frontier cavalry regiments. Babar, at a time when he depended on the goodwill of the Persians,

the holy family,[1] found favour with him. Among others was Bairam Khan, Turkoman, his most intimate and attached friend, who professed the religion of the Imams. After the King ascended the throne, he elevated many Kazal-bashis to high stations.

Abul Fazl relates, that when Humayun became insensible after his fall, the Mogul chiefs despatched Ali Kuli Khan express to Punjab, to acquaint his son Akbar of the accident. This information reached the Prince in a few days at the town of Kalanur. The officers who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne, on the 2nd of Rabbi-us-sani, in the year 963 (Feb. 15, 1556), when he was only thirteen years and nine months old.[2]

attempted to introduce the 'red cap' amongst his own troops, and even assumed it himself; but "the measure, though unaccompanied with any religious innovation, was so unpopular as to produce a dangerous disaffection to his government" (*vide* Erskine's *Babar*, p. 244).

[1] *i.e.* devoted to Ali and his ten descendants. Ali was the fourth Khalifa. He was the adopted son of the Prophet, whose daughter Fatima he married. The Shiahs hold that he should have succeeded to the Khalifate on the death of Muhammad; and the claims of Ali against those of Abu Bakr, Umar, and Usman, gave rise to the Shiah schism (see *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 13).

[2] This means thirteen years and nine months according to the Hijri calendar, and reckoning from the 'official' date of Akbar's birth, viz. 5th Rajab, 949 (15th Oct., 1542). The actual date of the event was probably that given by Jauhar, viz. 14th Shaban 949 (23rd Nov., 1542); but this day being a Thursday, was deemed by Abul Fazl astrologically unworthy of being an emperor's

Bairam Khan, Turkoman, distinguished by the title of Khan Khanan became his minister, and had the whole civil and military power vested in his hands.

[Tardi Beg Khan despatched all the ensigns of royalty from Delhi, and letters of congratulation were addressed to the young King by Ali Kuli Khan, governor of Sambal, Sikandar Khan Usbeg, governor of Agra, Bahadur Khan, governor of Dipalpur, and Mun'im Khan, tutor to Muhammad Hakim Mirza (brother to the king) and governor of Kabul. The King then led his army to the hills to attack Sikandar Shah Sur, and having defeated him and compelled him to fly within the recesses of the mountains, took up his quarters for the rainy season at Jalandhar.]

In the mean time, Sulaiman Mirza, who had been left governor of Badakshan, throwing off his allegiance, marched against Kabul, which was defended by Mun'im Khan. Intelligence of this insurrection having reached Akbar, he detached Muhammad Kuli Birlas [with other officers] to succour Mun'im Khan. Some of these chiefs entered Kabul, while others, encamping without the city, harassed the besiegers for the space of four months, when the garrison

birthday; so, confident that the desert would keep its secret, and forgetting that Jauhar might give him away, the courtly biographer brought his hero into the world on the 5th of Rajab, which had the double merit of being a Sunday, and the anniversary of the conception of the Prophet (*vide* Smith's *Akbar*, p. 19, and the same author's convincing article on the date of Akbar's birth, in vol. xliv. of the *Indian Antiquary*).

being at length worn-out for want of provisions, Mun'im Khan was compelled to suffer the Kutbah to be read in the name of Sulaiman Mirza, who then raised the siege and returned to Badakshan.

During these transactions, Hemu, the vizier of Muhammad Shah Adil, advancing towards Agra with thirty thousand horse and foot, and two thousand elephants, obliged Sikandar Khan Uzbeg to retreat to Delhi ; while Shadi Khan, another of Shah Adil's generals, advanced with an army to the banks of the Rohat, where Ali Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan Zaman, opposed him with three thousand horse ; but the latter was defeated with so severe a loss, that only two hundred of his men escaped from the field of battle, many of whom were drowned in the river.

Hemu, elated with this intelligence, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhi. Tardi Beg Khan, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood to come to his aid. Shortly after, being joined by [several of these], he conceived himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Khan Zaman, who by this time had obtained a considerable reinforcement, and was on his march to Delhi. Tardi Beg Khan accordingly moved to meet the enemy. Hemu selected three thousand horse and some of his best elephants which he retained near his own person in the centre, and during the heat of the battle he

charged Tardi Beg Khan with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhi also surrendered. Tardi Beg Khan fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. Khan Zaman, hearing of this disaster at Meerut, avoided Delhi, and proceeded to Nowshera, on his way to join the King, who, during these transactions, was at Jalandhar, and finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself both from his youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bairam Khan, Turkoman, the title of Khan Baba,[1] and reposing his whole trust in the prudence and wisdom of that chief, begged him to take measures for retrieving his affairs. At the same time, he assured him, in the most solemn manner, that he would pay no attention to any malicious accusations against him. The young king also required Bairam Khan to swear, on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humayun, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust.

After this, a council being called by Bairam Khan, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely muster twenty thousand, it would be prudent to

[1] This word signifies father, and the title and power in the present instance answered to that of regent or protector (Briggs).

retreat to Kabul. Bairam Khan not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbar, which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khan, decided the question. Hostilities being determined on, Khizr Khan, who was then governor of Lahore, was directed to attack Sikandar Shah Sur; while the king proceeded to march in person against Hemu.

On reaching Nowshera, he was joined by several of his defeated officers who had assembled at that place. During his stay here, Bairam Khan, taking advantage of the King's absence from camp on a hunting party, caused Tardi Beg Khan to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself. When Akbar returned, Bairam Khan waited on him, and acquainted him with what he had done, at the same time excusing himself for not consulting the king, as he felt certain his clemency was such, that, notwithstanding Tardi Beg Khan's misconduct, he would have pardoned him. Bairam Khan remarked, that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power.

The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work has understood, from the best informed men of the times, that had Tardi Beg Khan not been executed by way of

example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shah would have been acted over again. But in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chagatai officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobad and Kaikaos, now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Bairam Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.[1]

Soon after this event, the army marched from Nowshera towards Delhi. [The advance guard was placed under the command of Khan Zaman, who was created Sarlashkar, or Commander-in-chief.] Hemu, who had now assumed the title of Raja Vikramajit, in Delhi, marched out of the capital to meet the king, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert. His advance guard, consisting

[1] Whether, as Badaoni states, Bairam Khan extracted from Akbar an unwilling permission to put Tardi Beg Khan to death, or whether, as Abul Fazl leads us to suppose, he acted solely on his own initiative, is a question to which we are not, and probably never shall be, in a position to give a precise answer. That the measure displeased Akbar there is no doubt, as also that it aroused the keenest resentment amongst the Chagatai nobles, and contributed in no small degree to Bairam Khan's downfall. Tardi Beg's defence of Delhi certainly did him little credit ; but whether his behaviour on that occasion was as disgraceful as Bairam Khan maintained, and how far the exigencies of the time necessitated or justified the condign punishment meted out to him, are likewise matters on which, in the light of our present knowledge, no final decision is possible. Tardi Beg's execution has been condemned as an atrocious crime, and commended as an act of justice and necessity. In neither case does the evidence warrant the verdict.

of Afghans with some artillery, having fallen in with the Mogul Sarlashkar, was routed with the loss of all its guns, an event which proved of great importance to Akbar. Hemu, however, reached Panipat without further opposition; and hearing that the king was near, he distributed his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers, and waited an attack.

On the morning of the 2nd of Muharram, 964 (Nov. 5, 1556), the Sarlashkar having halted, was joined by the whole army, except a few select troops who remained to guard the king's person, and drawing up, offered battle. Hemu began the action with his elephants, in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Moguls attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khan Zaman commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows, and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemu, mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Mogul army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his howdah from extreme agony. The greater part of his troops feared his wound was mortal, and forsook him. Raising himself again, Hemu drew the arrow and with it the eye out of the socket, which he wrapt in his handker-

chief, and in spite of his painful situation, continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line. At length, Shah Kuli Khan levelled his lance against the driver of Hemu's elephant, who, in order to save his own life, pointed to his master, and promised Shah Kuli Khan to guide the elephant wherever he directed. He was now surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear. When Hemu was brought into the presence, Bairam Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive became entitled to the appellation of Ghazi,[1] while Bairam Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemu from his body.[2]

[1] No single word in our language conveys the idea of this title, so highly prized among the Muhammadans : it signifies one who, by his deeds in war, has slain infidels, and propagated the true faith. Among Christians, Knights of the Cross might, perhaps, assume the title. Saladin was the Ghazi of the Saracens, and Richard Coeur de Lion of the Christians, in the wars of the Crusades (Briggs, *Firishta*, vol. i. p. 189).

[2] Abul Fazl states that Akbar indignantly refused to draw his sword on a helpless foe, and, *more suo*, indulges in pages of eloquent adulation of the youthful monarch's magnanimity. Badaoni tells a similar tale, but adorns it with no courtly embellishments. On the other hand, Ahmad Yadgar, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana*, states that Akbar, at the bidding of his guardian, smote Hemu with his sword, " dividing

During this action, fifteen hundred elephants fell into the hands of Akbar, who, marching from Panipat, entered Delhi without opposition. [He had barely reached the capital, however, when news was brought that Khizr Khan, who had been left in charge of the operations in the Punjab, had been defeated by Sikandar Shah, and obliged to fly to Lahore. On hearing this, Akbar again put his army in motion

his head from his unclean body;" and the same statement is made by a Dutch writer named van den Broecke, who claims to have based his account on a genuine chronicle of the empire. No two accounts agree in all their details. Firishta does not indicate his authority; but if weight is to be attached to the 'appearance of truth,' his version of the story has a strong claim on our credit. Mr. Vincent Smith, after examining all the evidence (*vide* his article on the death of Hemu, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1916), comes to the unhesitating conclusion that Akbar slew Hemu with his own hand. But his arguments by no means carry entire conviction. We do not feel, for example, that he effectively disposes of Abul Fazl's evidence by telling us that it "may be neglected." The fact that the author of the *Akbarnama* at times allows his 'courtliness' to get the better of his veracity, can hardly be taken as proof positive that in this particular instance he is lying. Nor does it appear reasonable to disallow Badaoni's evidence, because, he too, according to Mr. Smith, suffered from occasional attacks of 'courtliness.' The assertion that the story of Akbar's magnanimity "is opposed to the clear statements of Ahmad Yadgar and the Dutch writer, van den Broecke" (*vide Akbar*, p. 39), is, of course, incontrovertible; but it is only another way of saying that the stories of Ahmad Yadgar and van den Broecke are opposed to the clear statements of Badaoni and Abul Fazl. Mr. Smith is, doubtless, right when he says that contemporary Muhammadan opinion would have commended rather than blamed Akbar for slaying Hemu. Ahmad Yadgar certainly gives no indication that he regarded the act as other than meritorious. But this, while it lends some probability to Ahmad

and marched towards the Punjab, on which Sikandar Shah Sur, who had advanced as far as Kalanur, retreated to the fort of Mankot.]

At this place Akbar encamped for the space of three months, during which time the king's mother,[1] and other ladies of the seraglio, together with several of the families of the Chagatai chiefs, returned from Kabul. They were escorted by the officer who had been sent to afford aid to Mun'im Khan; but

Yadgar's story, makes it difficult to understand why Abul Fazl and Badaoni took so much trouble to 'cook the account.' The difficulty is to some extent overcome, if we accept Mr. Smith's suggestion that Akbar, in later life, came to view his 'boyish action' from the European standpoint, and himself invented the magnanimity story to cover his shame. The suggestion, however, has nothing to support it, and is a bigger libel on the character of Akbar than the suggestion that he killed Hemu. Moreover, actions far more brutal, and, from a modern point of view, far less excusable, belong to Akbar's later years; and we are not told that they awakened in him any sense of shame. Indeed, the only way in which we can reconcile such actions with his character as a whole, is to believe that he viewed them from the standpoint of his own race and age. The question to be decided, however, is not whether, in the eyes of his contemporaries, Akbar's 'boyish action' was meritorious or otherwise; but whether or not he performed it; and this question must, until further evidence becomes available, remain a matter of conjecture. The unqualified support of so eminent an authority as Mr. V. A. Smith is a strong argument in favour of Ahmad Yadgar's version of the story; but it cannot be regarded as placing the matter beyond dispute.

[1] Akbar's mother was a Persian lady named Hamida Bano Begam, a daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Jami, who had been tutor to Humayun's brother Hindal. Muhammad Hakim was a younger son of Humayun by another wife, whose name was Mah-Chuchak Begam. She was killed at Kabul in 1564 by Abul Mu'ali.

Muhammad Hakim Mirza, with his mother and sister, remained at Kabul by the King's orders. The former was formally invested by patent with the management of that country, under the tutelage of Mun'im Khan during his minority.

The siege of Mankot lasted for six months, when Sikandar Shah opened negotiations to surrender. Unable to attend the King owing to his wounds, he consented to evacuate the fort, and to cause his son, Shaikh Abdul Rahim, to enter the King's service and remain with him as a hostage for his own future forbearance from hostility, begging that he himself might be permitted to retire unmolested to Bengal. These terms being acceded to, Shaikh Abdul Rahim, in the month of Ramazan 964, was presented to the king, and made offerings of several elephants. Sikandar Shah retired to Bengal, and Mankot was delivered up to Akbar, who having left a trusty governor in the place, proceeded to Lahore [and thence by easy stages to Delhi, which was entered on the 25th of Jumadi-us-sani 965 A.H. (April 9, 1558)].

VII

AKBAR.—A PORTRAIT

(Du Jarric) [1]

The original portrait, of which that here presented is a reproduction, was the work of Father Anthony Monserrate, S.J., who resided at the Mogul court (see note 1 *infra*) from 1580 to 1582. The emperor Akbar had at that time reached the age of forty, and had been twenty-four years a king.

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[1] The passages forming the text of this and the following chapter are translations from the *Histoire* of Father Pierre Du Jarric. The complete, and terrific, title of this extremely rare work is, *A History of the most memorable things that took place both in the East Indies, and in the countries discovered by the Portuguese, during the establishment and progress of the Christian and Catholic faith, and chiefly of that which the Monks of the Company of Jesus did and suffered for the same end, from the time that they went there until the year 1610.* The work consists of three parts, which were published at Bordeaux in the years 1608, 1610 and 1614. The account of Akbar is from the second part (bk. III, ch. viii.), and that of the rebellion of Prince Khusru from the third part (bk. v., ch. xvi.). A Latin version of the entire work, entitled *Thesaurus rerum Indicarum*, etc., by M. Matthia Martinez, was published at Cologne in 1615-16.

The *Histoire*, which is in the nature of a compilation, is based on the letters annually received in Portugal from the members of the Society of Jesus in India. The letters relating to the first decade of the seventeenth century had already been collected, arranged, and published by Father Fernand Guerreiro, and it

was from this collection that Du Jarric drew most of the material for the third part of his work. In the preface to this portion of the *Histoire*, he refers to Guerreiro as a man "of clear and solid judgement, and well versed in these matters," whose writings are a *consolation* to all "who desire to know the progress of the Christian faith in these foreign lands." After a further tribute to Guerreiro's work, he adds, "Since 1600 he has published five or six volumes which he has had the goodness to place in my hands . . . from which, in the main, I have derived that which I have here set down in writing."

Du Jarric's account of Akbar, which, as already stated, is contained in the second part of the *Histoire*, is, with the exception of a few details derived from other sources, based entirely on Father Anthony Monserrate's *Relaçam do Equebar, Rei dos Mogores*. A brief allusion must, therefore, be made to the latter work, and its author.

The *Relaçam do Equebar* is an abstract, made by the author himself, from his larger, and principal work, the *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, or "History of the First Jesuit Mission to the Great Mogul." Father Monserrate was himself a member of this mission, and was entrusted with the duty of writing its history. Shortly after his arrival at the imperial court, he was appointed tutor to Prince Murad, and in the following year (1581), he accompanied the emperor on his military expedition to Kabul. The work of the mission occupied nearly two years; and during this time, Monserrate was in constant and intimate intercourse with Akbar, whose character and mode of life he thus had unrivalled opportunities of studying. He was an accurate, and, as far as his religious prejudices permitted, a sympathetic observer; and he was also, like many of the Jesuit Fathers of his time, a man of learning, and an accomplished writer. These qualities, combined with the peculiar interest of the materials at his disposal, render his history of the first mission a work of the highest historical importance. The Latin text of the *Commentarius*, with an introduction by Father H. Hosten, was published in 1914, in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. iii., pp. 518-704). The complete Portuguese text of the *Relaçam* is to be found in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1912, pp. 185-204. It is accompanied by a literal translation, and many valuable notes by Father Hosten.

ECHEBAR[1] continued the war which his predecessors had waged against the Parthes (or Patanes as they are now called in India). He invaded the kingdom of Bengala, of which they had taken possession, expelling them from all but a few islands ;[2] though, as we shall see, they subsequently gave him much trouble. He next captured Cambaya, and after that, many other of the kingdoms of Indostan. He continued his conquests as long as he lived, so that his sway extended almost to the territories of the kings of Narsinga, Calecut, and other countries bordering the sea, even to the island of Goa ; and his name was greatly dreaded in all these lands. His court was attended by many kings, some of whom he had reduced by force of arms, while others had tendered their submission voluntarily, that they might not be deprived of their kingdoms. Sometimes as many as twenty kings were to be seen at his court, each having the right to wear a crown, and the least of whom was as powerful as the king of Calecut. Besides these, there are many others who stay in their kingdoms, and who, in order that

[1] 'Echebar,' 'Achebar,' and 'Equebar' are the principal Portuguese transliterations of the name 'Akbar.' Du Jarric rings the changes on the two first. 'Equebar' is the spelling of the *Relaçam*.

[2] In a previous passage Du Jarric speaks of Babar driving the "Parthes" before him, and confining them to the "islands of Bengala." This latter expression appears to have originated with Peruschi, and was probably the result of a geographical misconception. European ideas of Indian geography were, at this period, extremely vague.

they may be exempt from personal service, pay a larger tribute than those who attend at court. Some of these kings are Pagans, and others Mahometans ; but Echebar, although he professed, at least outwardly, the Mahometan faith, placed more trust in the former than the latter.

As to the limits of his empire, these cannot yet be stated with accuracy ; for until the time of his death, which took place on the 27th of October, 1605, he was constantly making new conquests. We are told that in the year 1582 his territories stretched westward to the Indus, and further north to the confines of Persia. The eastern boundaries were the same as those of the kingdom of Bengala, of which he was master. On the north was Tartarie, and on the south the sea which washes the shores of Cambaya. Nowhere else, except in Bengala, did the empire extend to the sea ; for the kings of the Malabars, the Portuguese, the king of Narsinga, and certain others, hold, in addition to their possessions, all the maritime ports. The rest belongs to the great Mogor,[1] whose territories, in the year 1582, are said to have been six hundred leagues in length, and five hundred in breadth ; but since then he has annexed the kingdom of Caximir, and several others.

[1] 'Mogor,' a corruption of 'Mogul,' was the name given by the Portuguese not only to the Great Mogul himself, but also to his dominions. The word 'India' they used mainly to designate their own possessions on the west coast. The latter word was used in a similarly restricted sense by other European nations, who possessed settlements, or territory in the East, including the English.

The country is, for the most part, fruitful, producing the needs of life in abundance; for between the two famous rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, which wind over the greater portion of it, watering it like a garden, there are nine others which empty themselves into these two; namely, the Taphy (Tapti), the Hervada (Narbada), the Chambel, and the Tamona (Jumna), flowing into the Ganges,[1] and the Catamel (Sutlej), the Cebcha (Beas), the Ray (Ravi), the Chenaõ (Chenab), and the Rebeth (Jhilam), flowing into the Indus, which the people call the Schind. From this we can judge of the fertility of this region, and of the wealth of the great Mogor. For all the kingdoms and provinces which he conquers he holds as his own, appointing his captains, or the kings whom he has dispossessed, as his lieutenants over them. From these he takes a third portion of the revenues, the

[1] With Monserrate to guide him, Du Jarric had no excuse for making the Tapti and the Narbada flow into the Ganges. The description in the *Relaçam* is as follows: "Industan is watered by ten rivers called as follows: the Taphi, which passes through Currate; the Narvada, passing through Baroche; the Sambel, which flows into the Jamona; the Jamona, which passes into the Ganga; the Ganga with its mouth in Bemgala; the Catanulge, Beha, Raoy, Chenao, Behet, and Indo which the last five join." Du Jarric's spelling of Indian names is no better than his geography. 'Rebeth' is evidently a perversion of Behet, or Behat, the old and correct name of the Jhilam. 'Behet' is from the Sanskrit *Vitasta*, or *Bedasta*, which the Greeks corrupted into Bidaspes, or Hydaspes (*vide* Yule's *Glossary*, p. 81). Amongst ancient names of the Sutlej, Yule gives *Satadru*, *Svtudri*, and *Sitadru*, none of which seems to account for such corruptions as 'Catamel' and 'Catanulge.'

remainder being for their personal needs, and the maintenance of the soldiers, horses, and elephants which each of them is bound to keep in readiness for any emergency that may arise. The wealth of these provinces is increased by the extensive trade which is carried on in drugs, spices, pearls, and other precious things, and also in civet, cotton cloth, cloth of gold, woollen stuffs, carpets, velvet and other silken fabrics, as well as in every kind of metal. Horses also are brought in large numbers from Persia and Tartary.

But his military strength is even more formidable. For in the various provinces throughout his empire he has in his pay captains dependent on him, each of whom commands twelve or fourteen thousand horse. These they are compelled to maintain, as has already been stated, out of the revenues of the provinces which the king has assigned to them.[1]

[1] Akbar's fighting strength was represented by a small standing army, paid and equipped out of imperial funds, *plus* a large irregular force consisting of troops furnished by his Captains, or *Mansabdars* (lit. 'office-holders'). The official 'grading' of the *Mansabdars* was one of the administrative reforms instituted in the years 1574-5. They were then divided into thirty classes, ranging from commanders of 10 to commanders of 5000. There were higher commands, of 7000, 8000, and 10,000; but these were, with rare exceptions, only conferred on Princes of the blood. In each case the numbers represented the rank of the commander, rather than the strength of the contingent he was expected to furnish, which was considerably less, sometimes not more than a tenth, of his nominal command. Indeed, the rank of Mansabdar was frequently conferred without any military obligation at all, on persons whom the king wished to honour. The *mansabdari* system, therefore, not only served a military

Besides these, there are others of inferior rank who maintain seven or eight thousand horse, as well as a number of elephants trained for warfare. The king has in his stables five thousand of these elephants, all ready to march at his will. As to the number of elephants in the whole of his kingdom,

purpose, but constituted a kind of order of knighthood. The salaries attached to the various grades ranged from 75 rupees a month for commanders of 10, to 30,000 rupees for commanders of 5000, or, as it were, ' grand commanders ' of the order.

Neither Abul Fazl, the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, nor Badaoni, the two principal authorities for Akbar's military administration, makes any mention of commanders of 12,000 or 14,000. But Du Jarric's figures are those given by Monserrate, and cannot, therefore, be lightly set aside. Monserrate, as has already been stated, accompanied Akbar on his military expedition to Kabul in 1581, and his figures are doubtless based on the composition of the force employed on that occasion. It must be remembered that, at this juncture, Akbar's throne was in very imminent danger ; for while his dominions were being invaded from the west, a formidable rebellion was raging in Bengal, the two together constituting a deep-laid conspiracy to place his brother Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, on the imperial throne. In such an emergency Akbar must have needed the help of every man he could lay his hands on ; and it is, therefore, quite conceivable that his captains were called upon to take the field with contingents larger than those they were normally expected to maintain. The number of troops employed during these troubles is given in the *Relaçam* as follows : " In his campaign against his brother, the Prince of Qhabul, he left 10,000 men in garrison in Cambaia, and 12,000 in Fatipur with his mother. To the frontiers of Bemgala he sent against the rebels a foster brother of his own, one of his relations, with 20,000 horse, and some four or five captains, each with six, five or four thousand horse, besides some infantry and camp-followers for the baggage. In all the towns he left the necessary garrisons, and took with him about 50,000 picked men, besides an infinite number of infantry and camp-followers."

it has been estimated that he can put into the field fifty thousand, all well armed, in the manner about to be described.[1] In a war with his brother, the Prince of Cabul, who marched in great force against him, Echebar brought into the field fifty thousand cavalry, all chosen men, and five thousand fighting elephants, besides innumerable infantry; and this is leaving out of account the thousands of followers, mounted and on foot, whom he left in garrison, or in other places requiring protection. In time of war, he recruited his army from all classes of the people, Mogors, Coronans (Khorasanis), Parthes, Torquimaches, Boloches, Guzarates, and other Industans, whether Pagans or Mahometans.

He goes into battle with many pieces of artillery, which are placed in the front line. The elephants

[1] Du Jarric's authority for this statement was a letter written by the Father Provincial of Goa in November 1591, which was published at Rome in 1592 by Spitilli, together with another letter by the same writer. Extracts from both these letters are given by Maclagan in his account of the Jesuit Missions (*J.A.S.B.* vol. 65). The passage referring to the elephants is as follows: "Father Anthony Monserrate states that when the Emperor took him on an expedition which he at one time made, he had with him five thousand fighting elephants exclusive of those used for baggage, and that in the whole empire there are fifty thousand elephants stationed for war-like purposes at various centres." The statements here attributed to Monserrate do not appear in his works. In the *Relaçam*, however, he says, in reference to the Kabul campaign, that the king's second son "was sent ahead with 15,000 horse and 1500 elephants"; so that the number of the latter animals taken on the expedition must have been very large. The statement that Akbar maintained 50,000 war-elephants is also made by Peruschi.

are kept in the rear, and are armed in the following fashion : to protect the head from blows, it is covered with a plate of iron, or tough hide. A sword is attached to the trunk, and a dagger to each of the long tusks which protrude from the mouth. Each animal bears on his back four small wooden turrets,[1] from which as many soldiers discharge their bows, arquebusses, or muskets. The driver is protected by a cuirass, or by plates of metal overlapping like scales. Elephants thus equipped are not placed in the front line, as they would shut out the enemy from the view of the soldiers, and would, when wounded, break back and throw into disorder the ranks behind them. They are kept in the rear of the force ; and should the enemy penetrate so far, this formidable troupe is brought suddenly into

[1] These are described in the *Relaçam* as follows : " He (Akbar) had also with him fifty elephants, each with four musketeers, placed on certain appliances, like children's cradles, with a balcony which they can turn in any direction they like. These musketeers discharge bullets of the size of an egg." The method here described of arming elephants was not peculiar to the armies of the Mogul kings. In the *Chronicle* of Fernão Nuniz we read that the war-elephants of Vijayanagar " go with their howdahs (castellos) from which four men fight on each side of them, and the elephants are completely clothed, and on their tusks they have knives fastened, much ground and sharpened, with which they do great harm." Varthema, who gives a detailed description of the Vijayanagar war-elephants, says : " They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in this way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck orders him : ' Go forward,' or ' Turn back,' ' Strike this one,' ' Strike that one,' ' Do not strike any more,' and he understands as though he were a human being."

action, to bar his further progress. These beasts, even when unarmed, can do great damage. They seize with their trunks those whom they find in their path, and raising them in the air as high as they are able, dash them to the ground and trample them under their feet. At other times they attack with their iron-sheathed heads, butting after the manner of rams.

Unlike the former kings of Mogor, Echebar did not reside in the city of Deli. He first of all took up his abode at Agra ; but after two of his children had died in that city, he caused another of great beauty to be built, which was named Pateful, or Fatefur. But after his conquest of the kingdom of Lahor, he made its capital city, Lahor, his usual residence.

It was in the year 1582 [1] that his court was first visited by Fathers of the Company. He was then about forty years of age, of medium stature, and strongly built.[2] He wore a turban on his head, and

[1] This date is incorrect. The first Jesuit Mission arrived at Lahore in February 1580. Two years before this, Akbar had been visited by Father Julianus Periera, the Vicar-General in Bengal, whose "zeal in explaining the law of the Gospel, together with the excellence of his conduct, disposed Akbar to regard our faith with increasing favour" (*Relaçam*). According to Father Hosten, however, this priest was not a Jesuit.

[2] The description in the *Relaçam* is as follows: "Akbar is a fine-looking, broad-shouldered man, but bow-legged, and of a swarthy complexion. His eyes are large, but with narrow openings, like those of a Tartar or Chinaman. He has a broad, open forehead; and his nose, except for a slight lump in the centre, is straight. The nostrils are large, and on the left one

the fabric of his costume was interwoven with gold thread. His outer garment reached to his knees, and his breeches to his heels. His stockings were much like ours; but his shoes were of a peculiar pattern invented by himself. On his brow he wore several rows of pearls or precious stones. He had a great liking for European clothes; and sometimes it was his pleasure to dress himself in a costume of black velvet made after the Portuguese fashion; but this was only on private, not on public occasions. He had always a sword at his side, or at any rate so near by that he could lay his hand upon it in a moment. Those who guarded his person, and whom he kept constantly near him, were changed each day of the week, as were his other officers and attendants, but in such a manner that the same persons came on duty every eighth day.

Echebar possessed an alert and discerning mind; he was a man of sound judgment, prudent in affairs, and above all, kind, affable, and generous. With these qualities he combined the courage of those

there is a small wart. He is in the habit of carrying his head slightly inclined to the right side. Like the Turks, he shaves his beard; but he wears a small neatly-trimmed moustache." This portrait is practically identical with that which Jahangir gives us in his *Memoirs*, except for the inadequate allusion to Akbar's wart. Jahangir, evidently a connoisseur in such matters, does the royal excrescence more justice. "My father," he writes, "had on the left side of his nose a fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of half a pea. Those skilled in the science of physiognomy considered this mole a sign of great prosperity and exceeding good fortune" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i. p. 33).

who undertake and carry out great enterprises. He could be friendly and genial in his intercourse with others, without losing the dignity befitting the person of a king. He seemed to appreciate virtue, and to be well disposed towards foreigners, particularly Christians, some of whom he always liked to have about him. He was interested in, and curious to learn about many things, and possessed an intimate knowledge not only of military and political matters, but of many of the mechanical arts. He took delight in watching the casting of pieces of artillery, and in his own palace kept workmen constantly employed in the manufacture of guns and arms of various descriptions. In short, he was well informed on a great variety of subjects, and could discourse on the laws of many sects, for this was a matter of which he made a special study. Although he could neither read nor write, he enjoyed entering into debate with learned doctors. He always entertained at his court a dozen or so of such men, who propounded many questions in his presence. To their discussions, now on one subject, now on another, and particularly to the stories which they narrated, he was a willing listener, believing that by this means he could overcome the disadvantage of his illiteracy.

Echebar was by temperament melancholy, and he suffered from the falling-sickness;[1] so that to

[1] *Il estoit melancholique de sa nature, et subiect au mal caduc*; or, in the Latin version of Matthia Martinez, *Natura erat melan-*

divert his mind, he had recourse to various forms of amusement, such as watching elephants fight together, or camels, or buffaloes, or rams that butt and prod each other with their horns, or even two cocks. He was also fond of watching fencing bouts; and on certain occasions, after the manner of the ancient Romans, he made gladiators fight before him; or fencers were made to contend until one had killed

cholicus, et epileptico subjectus morbo. In reference to this statement, V. A. Smith remarks (*Akbar*, p. 160): "There is abundant evidence concerning Akbar's innate melancholy, but I have not met elsewhere the statement that he was epileptic. Du Jarric must have got it from one or other of the Jesuit missionaries. Muhammad, Julius Caesar, and many other eminent men have been supposed by various writers to have suffered from epilepsy; but there is little evidence of the alleged fact in most of the cases. Peter the Great, however, certainly suffered from convulsive fits of some kind. See Lombroso, *The Man of Genius*, London ed., 1891. The presence of the disease 'is quite consistent with a high degree of bodily vigour' (*Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11)."

The evidence in this particular case can hardly be called complete; and it is a matter for surprise that in a subsequent chapter (see *Akbar*, p. 339) Smith refers to Akbar's supposed malady as though it were an established fact. If it is true that Akbar was an epileptic, the complete silence on the subject of Monserrate, and other contemporary writers, whether European or Muhammadan, can only be regarded as a very remarkable circumstance. Further, it must be borne in mind that Du Jarric was a compiler; and the fact that he records a particular statement in his *Histoire* is a guarantee, not that it is true, but only that he took it from a source which he regarded, and may quite conceivably have been mistaken in regarding, as trustworthy. There are records of the Mogul empire, as yet unexplored, which may throw light on this and on other problems awaiting solution; and until these are made available, the only safe verdict is 'not proved.'

the other.[1] At other times, he amused himself with elephants and camels that had been trained to dance to the tune of certain musical instruments, and to perform other strange feats. But in the midst of all these diversions—and this is a very remarkable thing—he continued to give his attention to affairs of state, even to matters of grave importance.

Often he used to hunt the wild animals that abound in these regions. For this purpose he employed panthers[2] instead of hunting-dogs; for in this country panthers are trained to the chase as we train dogs. He did not care much for hawking, though he had many well-trained falcons and other birds of prey; and there were some expert falconers amongst his retainers. Some of these were so skilful with the bow that they very rarely missed a bird at which they shot, even though it was on the wing, and though their arrows were unfeathered.

To catch wild deer he used other deer, which had been trained for this purpose. These carried nets on their horns in which the wild deer that came to

[1] In the *Commentarius*, Monserrate states that he and Father Aquaviva were invited to witness one of these gladiatorial combats, and that they not only refused to do so, but severely reprimanded Akbar for countenancing so inhuman a practice. According to V. A. Smith, the 'gladiatorii ludi' were continued by Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

[2] It is not the panther (*felis pardus*), but the hunting leopard (*felis jubata*) which was, and is still trained in India for hunting purposes. The latter animal is now generally called a 'cheeta'; though this name, which means 'spotted,' is frequently given to the panther, and to its close relative the leopard (*felis leopardus*).

attack them became entangled, upon which they were seized by the hunters who lay in concealment near by. When on a military campaign, he used to hunt in the following manner. Four or five thousand men were made to join hands and form a ring round a piece of jungle. Others were then sent inside to drive the animals to the edge of the enclosure, where they were captured by those forming the ring. A fine was levied on those who allowed an animal to break through and escape.

So much for the king's recreations. We will now turn to more serious matters. That any person might be able to speak to him on business of importance, Echebar appeared twice daily in public, to give audience to all classes of his subjects. For this purpose he made use of two large halls of his palace, in each of which was placed on a raised dais a splendid and costly throne. To the first of these halls all his subjects had access, and there he listened to all who sought speech with him. But to the second, none was admitted but the captains and great nobles of his kingdom, and the ambassadors who came from foreign kings to confer with him on affairs of importance. Eight experienced officers, whose judgement he could trust, were in constant attendance on him. Amongst these he apportioned the days of the week, so that each had his special day for introducing those who desired an audience. It was their duty to examine the credentials of all such persons, and to act as masters of ceremony,

instructing them, more especially if they were foreigners, how to make reverence to the king, and how to comport themselves in his presence; for on these occasions much ceremony is observed, it being the custom, amongst other things, to kiss the feet of the king on saluting him. When giving audience, the king is also attended by a number of secretaries, whose duty is to record in writing every word that he speaks.[1] This is a custom much practised by the princes of Persia, and other eastern countries.

For the administration of justice, there are magistrates whose judgement is final, and others from whom there is an appeal. In every case the proceedings are verbal, and are never committed to writing.

The king of whom we are speaking made it his particular care that in every case justice should be strictly enforced. He was, nevertheless, cautious in the infliction of punishments, especially the punish-

[1] The duties of a *wakái-navis* (lit. 'news-writer'), or royal scribe, are given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. There appear to have been fourteen such officers, who came on duty in rotation, two at a time. It was their business to write up the *yad-dasht*, or daily record of all that the king said or did in the course of the twenty-four hours. If they did their work conscientiously, they must have had a very busy time; for the *yad-dashi* was a record not only of the king's public acts and utterances, but of countless matters of a personal or private nature, such as "what his majesty eats and drinks; when he sleeps and when he rises; the etiquette in the state hall; the time his majesty spends in the harem; when he goes to the general and private assemblies; when he marches and when he halts; vows made by him; his remarks; what books he has read to him; what alms he bestows; what presents he makes . . ."

ment of death. In no city where he resided could any person be put to death until the execution warrant had been submitted to him, some say, as many as three times. His punishments were not, ordinarily, cruel; though it is true that he caused some who had conspired against his life to be slain by elephants, and that he sometimes punished criminals by impalement after the Turkish fashion. A robber or sea-pirate, if he had killed no one, suffered the loss of a hand; but murderers, highwaymen, and adulterers were either strangled or crucified, or their throats were cut, according to the gravity of their crimes. Lesser offenders were whipped and set free. In brief, the light of clemency and mildness shone forth from this prince, even upon those who offended against his own person. He twice pardoned an officer high in his service, who had been convicted of treason and conspiracy, graciously restoring him to favour and office. But when the same officer so far forgot himself as to repeat his offence a third time, he sentenced him to death by crucifixion. [1]

Echebar seldom lost his temper. If he did so, he fell into a violent passion; but his wrath was never

[1] This was Khwaja Shah Mansur, who was finance minister when the first Jesuit mission arrived at Akbar's court. Shah Mansur took a leading part in the conspiracy mentioned on page 174 *n*. Three times he was found to be in treasonable correspondence with Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul. The letters discovered on the last occasion may have been, and in all probability were, forged by his enemies, with a view

of long duration. Before engaging in any important undertaking, he used to consult the members of his council; but he made up his own mind, adopting whatever course seemed to him the best. Sometimes he communicated his intentions to his councillors, to ascertain their views. If they approved, they would answer with the words "Peace be to our lord the King." If anyone expressed an adverse opinion, Echebar would listen patiently, answer his objections, and point out the reasons for his own decision. Sometimes, in view of the objections pointed out to him, he changed the plans he had made. Persian is the language usually spoken at his court, but learned men and the priests of Mahomet speak Arabic.

This is what we have been able to ascertain about the Great Mogul and his state.

to compassing his downfall; but of his guilt on the two first occasions there appears little doubt. The question is fully discussed by V. A. Smith on pages 195-7 of his *Akbar*. Reference should, however, also be made to the account of the Kabul campaign by Beveridge, Whiteway, and Hosten, in *J. & Proc. A. S. B.*, vol. xi (1915), in which the case *for* Shah Mansur is very strongly put.

VIII

THE REBELLION OF PRINCE KHUSRU

(Du Jarric) [1]

Prince Khusru was born in the year 1587. He was, therefore, little more than a boy when, in March 1606, he revolted against his father, the Emperor Jahangir.

Eight days after the death of the great Achebar,[2] his eldest son and successor went to the palace to take possession of his kingdom; and when a dais had been erected and adorned with much splendour, he came forth and took his seat on the throne which had been set in readiness for him. Then all the people shouted *Pad Iausalamat*,[3] 'long live the king!' and when they had made him

[1] See note 1, p. 168.

[2] Akbar died on the 17th of October, 1605. The opening sentence of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, or *Memoirs* of the Emperor Jahangir, runs as follows: "By the boundless favour of Allah, when one sidereal hour of Thursday, Jumada-s-sani 20th, A.H. 1014 (24th October, 1605) had passed, I ascended the royal throne in the capital of Agra, in the 38th year of my age." (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, translated by Alexander Rogers, published by the R.A.S., London, in 1909.)

[3] A more correct interpretation would be 'Prosperity to the Throne!' The Persian word *pad* means a 'throne.' A 'king' is *pad-shah* (lord of the throne). The Persian equivalent of *vive le Roi!* would therefore be *padshah salamat*!

presents, he retired to his fortress, and there took up his abode. All the world hoped much from the new king, and especially the Jesuit Fathers, and the Christians, whom he had always treated with great affection, thereby leading them to hope that, when he was seated on the throne, a great change in religious affairs would take place in these states, and that many of his vassals would embrace the Christian faith; for he himself had, up till now, been looked upon by many as a Christian, and had been openly proclaimed as such by his most intimate friends. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment; for the Saracens had exacted from him an oath to guard the law of Mahomet; and being desirous at the commencement of his reign to gain the affection and good-will of his Mahometan subjects, and thereby add to the security of his throne, he began to favour them in every way possible. He caused all their mosques to be cleansed, restored their Ramesas,[1] which are the prayers of the Saracens, and took a new name, to wit, Nurdin mohamad Iahanuir,[2] which signifies, 'the splendour

[1] This word appears to be a corruption, probably of the Persian *namaz*, 'prayer,' and particularly the prayers prescribed by Muhammadan law.

[2] This is usually transliterated Nur-ud-din (Light of the Faith) Muhammad Jahan-gir (conqueror of the world). The two first words do not constitute a phrase, as Du Jarric supposes; but are two distinct names. Other names or titles inscribed on the coins struck by Jahangir were *Nur-i-daulat* (the Light of Prosperity), *Nur-i-Karm* (the Light of Benignity), *Kaukab-i-tali* (the Star of Destiny), *Kaukab-i-sa'd* (the Star of Felicity), etc.

of the law of Mahomet, conqueror of the world.' As for the Fathers, he paid them no more regard than if he had never seen them before.[1]

Some time afterwards, the prince, his son, revolted against him, as he himself had revolted against his father,[2] the late king; but with very different results, as we shall see.

The young prince, his son, having incurred his

[1] Though Jahangir found it expedient to 'drop' the Fathers for a time, it was not long before he was again on terms of intimacy with them. Indeed, in the course of the next few years, he showed them so much favour, and appeared to be so strongly attracted by Christianity, that great hopes were entertained of his conversion. But Jahangir had not inherited his father's mystic temperament, nor was he in any sense a seeker after the Truth. In matters religious he was a mere dilettante, and not even a sincere dilettante. His admiration for Christianity, in so far as it was genuine, was due, as Catrou observes, "to the licence it affords for the use of wine and the flesh of all kinds of animals"; while his friendly attitude towards the Fathers, and his outward devotion to their faith, were assumed for political purposes. But if Jahangir was 'playing a game,' so too were the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The latter were no doubt earnest enough in their desire for the conversion of the Great Mogul, and the spread of the Gospel in his dominions; but they were also alive to the advantages of having astute observers at his court. For they were fully aware that Jahangir regarded their presence in India with no friendly eye; and that it was only the unsettled state of affairs in the Deccan, combined with their own big guns, that prevented him from driving them into the sea. It was, therefore, important that they should keep themselves informed as to what was taking place at the Mogul capital; and for the supply of such information they relied on the Jesuit Fathers, who, as time went on, assumed more and more the rôle of political agents.

[2] Jahangir first went into open rebellion against Akbar in 1600; and was not finally reconciled to him till 1604. He lies royally on the subject in his *Memoirs*, protesting that he resisted

father's displeasure and wrath, became so distrustful of him that, on the 15th of April, 1606, he left the fortress by night, with some of his most intimate friends, without letting it be known whither he was going. His attendants gave out that it was his intention to visit the tomb of his grandfather; and with this pretext he had no difficulty in passing all the royal guards. But soon afterwards, his followers began to call him Soltan[1] ja, which means the King Soltan, and collected horses and all other things necessary for carrying on war.[2] When this news reached the king, he summoned his councillors who advised him in various ways. At last, he decided

every attempt made by evil advisers to seduce him from the path of loyalty (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i. pp. 65 and 68).

[1] More correctly, *Sultan-jah*, that is 'mighty King.' The Persian *jah* signifies 'dignity,' 'magnificence,' and is frequently thus applied.

[2] The breach between Jahangir and his son Khusru was of long standing. During the latter years of Akbar's reign, Jahangir, then Prince Salim, had been haunted by the fear, a fear that was by no means groundless, that Khusru would supplant him in the succession. He also held Khusru responsible for the death of his favourite wife (the Prince's mother), who, "in grief at his ways and behaviour, and the misconduct of her brother Madho Singh, killed herself by swallowing opium" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i. p. 55). It may, therefore, easily be believed that when Jahangir came to the throne, Khusru found his position anything but a bed of roses; though the royal diarist would assure us to the contrary. "I invariably found him," he tells us, "preoccupied and distracted. However much, in favour and affection for him, I wished to drive from his mind some of his fears and alarms, nothing was gained until, at last, by the advice of those whose fortune was reversed, on the night of Sunday, Zi-l-hijja 8th, of the year mentioned (April 6th, 1695), when two

to march himself against his son ; and as soon as day broke, he set forth.

His son, meanwhile, having fallen in with a great captain, who was on his way from Lahore to join the king at Agra (where he had held his court since the death of his father, which occurred in that city), induced him, by means of promises and threats, to turn aside and join him with all his troops. After this, he fell in with a second captain, who was carrying to the king a hundred thousand rupees (equal to about 40,000 crowns of our money).[1]

gharis had passed, he made a pretence of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty, and went off with 350 horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the fort of Agra " (*ibid.* p. 52).

What made this rebellion especially dangerous was the popularity which Khusru enjoyed, both at court and amongst the people. This he owed not only to his handsome appearance and engaging manners, but to his personal bravery and his frank and generous nature. Sir T. Roe, who saw him in 1615, while he was still under restraint, says that he was comely, and of a cheerful countenance ; that he loved the Christians, favoured learning, and hated coveteousness. Terry, the ambassador's chaplain, describes him as " a gentleman of very lovely presence and fine carriage," and adds that he was exceedingly beloved of the common people. Referring to the same period, Elphinstone writes : " No subject seems to have excited more interest, both in the ambassador and the court, than the fate of the Prince Khusru. All his bad qualities were forgotten in his misfortunes ; he was supposed to be endowed with every virtue ; the greatest joy prevailed when any sign appeared of his restoration to favour, and corresponding indignation when he fell into the power of his enemies. Even the king was supposed to be attached to him, though wrought on by the influence of Shah Jehan and the arts of Asaf Khan and Nur Jehan."

[1] In the reign of Jahangir the value of the rupee varied between 2s. 3d. and 2s. 9d. Assuming 100,000, or a *lakh* of

Having seized the treasure, he persuaded this captain also to join him ; after which, to bind his followers more closely to him, he made a liberal distribution of the money and the other things that he had seized. This reached the ears of many, and very soon the prince's followers numbered twelve thousand men ; so that when he appeared before Lahore (which is a hundred leagues from Agra, whence he had set out), he was at the head of a powerful force.

But the inhabitants of Lahore, having received intelligence that the prince was flying from his father, closed the gates of the town, and refused him entrance. The prince, greatly angered, laid siege to the town, and for eight days held it closely invested. But he did not capture it ; for news was soon brought to him that his father was marching against him, and was already close at hand. On learning this, the prince raised the siege, and turned

rupees, to be equivalent to £12,000 (*i.e.* 1 rupee = 2s. 5d., nearly), we arrive at a value of 6s. for the French crown, or *écu*. In a previous passage of his work (vol. iii. p. 60) Du Jarric defines the rupee as *une espece de monnoye de ce païs là, de la valeur chascune de de vingt-six sols tournois de la notre, ou environ*. If we still take the rupee as equivalent to 2s. 5d., we get from this, 26 *sols tournois* (the common *sol* then in use) equal to 29 English pence. This makes the value of the *écu*, which contained 60 *sols*, about 5s. 7d. It is quite likely, however, that this statement and that in the text are based on different values of the rupee. In either case, Du Jarric's *écu* appears to have been worth considerably more than Tavernier's, if Professor Ball is right in regarding the latter as equivalent to 4s. 6d. The *sol* was generally taken as equivalent to one tenth of a shilling, making the *écu* worth exactly 6s.

to face his father, hoping to prevent his crossing the river (the Ravi) which was between them. But he was too slow ; for already some of his father's troops had passed over. To add to the troubles of this unfortunate prince, rain fell the whole night ; so that his men were unable to use to advantage either their bows (the weapon ordinarily carried by these people), which became sodden and slack, or their horses. Nevertheless, putting all to the hazard, he attacked those who had crossed the river, of whom he slew a large number, and would have put them to complete rout, had not one of his father's captains made use of the following stratagem. Having disguised a number of foot-soldiers as messengers, he bade them mingle with the army of the prince, and spread the report that the king had crossed the river, and was rapidly approaching with a great force. As one went here and another there carrying this news, all those in the prince's army believed it to be true. After a little while, the same captain ordered trumpets to be sounded and drums to be beaten, as if the king were on the march.

But the prince was eager to follow up his advantage, and, by continuing the onset, to put to rout this portion of the king's army, which would have discouraged the others, and perhaps led to the success of his cause. But God, who approves not such enterprises, interposed, and caused those who were about him to lose all heart ; so that, overcome by their dread of the king, whom they wrongly believed to be

close at hand, and the mere thought of whose presence appalled them, they counselled instant flight. When the prince would not listen to their words, his general, seizing the bridle of his horse, forced him to turn back, telling him that he was going to his destruction. But this itself sealed the prince's fate; for his troops, seeing that he had turned his back to the enemy, straightway took to flight, dispersing, some in one direction, some in another, in the utmost disorder. They were closely pursued by the enemy, and many of them were destroyed.

In the meantime, the king crossed the river; and, as the prince had fled towards Cabul, messengers were sent to every place where it was possible for him to cross the intervening river (the Chenab), with orders that the passage was to be held against him. By the time that the prince reached one of these ports,[1] the king's messenger had already arrived; and the governor of the place at once gave orders that all the boats usually kept in readiness should be removed except one, and that when the prince desired to be taken across, the boatmen should steer the boat on to a sandbank which was in the middle of the stream, and then, on the pretext of fetching others to help them to refloat it, should come away and tell him. The boatmen carried out their instructions to the letter. Having, as if by

[1] Khusru made two or three unsuccessful attempts to cross the Chenab before he was finally taken, while trying to force a passage near Gujrat.

some mischance, run the boat on to this island of sand, they immediately sent word to the governor, who, thereupon, entered another boat and made his way to the prince, with whom were his general, of whom we have spoken, and one or two others. After paying him the usual compliments, the governor conducted him, all unsuspecting, to his fortress. As soon as he had his captives safely lodged, he excused himself on the ground that he was going to give orders for their dinner, and left them, locking the gates on the outside. The soldiers who had followed the prince, seeing that he was a prisoner, and that they had no means of succouring him, and being unable to cross the river, as there were no boats for the purpose, dispersed in various directions and hid themselves.

Meanwhile the king, in great anxiety as to the whereabouts of his son, continued his march in the direction of Lahore. As he approached the town, the Fathers of the Company came out to pay their respects to him. After proceeding about two leagues they met him at the head of his army. He rode between two lines of troops in fine array, and was attended by some of the greatest lords of the kingdom. In front were some who cleared the way before him, allowing none whom they met to remain on the road. The Fathers, however, were allowed to pass on, until they came before the king, who on seeing them pulled up his horse, and the whole army came to a halt. The Fathers embraced his

thighs; and his majesty, with a very amiable countenance, asked after their welfare, and took into his hands the small present which they offered to him; then, signing to them to withdraw, he continued his march. Towards evening, he received news that his son was a prisoner, and immediately despatched one of his captains to bring him back under strict guard.

Having arrived at the fortress where the prince was, the captain, without showing him any marks of respect or courtesy, produced fetters, covered with velvet, with which he had been supplied, and said that he was commanded by the king to put them on his feet. Having thus secured him, he led him away, under a strong guard, together with those who were prisoners with him. On their return, the king sent an elephant, meanly harnessed, to carry the prince across the river, and ordered him to be brought to the pleasure-house where he then was; for he had not yet made his entry into the town. On learning of his arrival, he withdrew into the house, perchance to give way to the natural feeling of a father, as did Joseph, on the arrival of his brethren; but in a little while he came out, and ordered him to approach.

The whole court awaited in suspense the sentence of the king. The spectacle of the poor prince, chained hand and foot, being led into his father's presence, moved all who witnessed it to compassion. As soon as he saw the king, he began, even from afar, to make signs of submission and reverence.

The king made him come near, and bade him take his place among the captains and courtiers who were present. Then, turning on him a countenance full of anger, he reprimanded him in the most piercing terms. The two captains, who had been of his party, were also made to come before him, one of whom had been a distinguished captain under his father, whom he had served in divers great affairs ; while the other had been his Treasurer, and governor of the city of Lahore. As these two stood before him, heavily manacled, he spoke mockingly to them of the king they had chosen, and of the captains chosen by their king to aid him in his brilliant exploit.

In brief, and to bring this drama to a close, the king made over the prince to one of his captains, with orders that he was to be rigorously guarded, and that the chains were not to be removed from his feet. As to the two captains, the foremost, having been stripped naked, was enveloped in the skin of a newly slaughtered ox ; and the other, the Treasurer, having likewise been stripped, was arrayed in the skin of an ass, also newly slain for the purpose. The skins were sewn tightly over them, so that as they gradually dried and shrank, they might become tighter and tighter, and so put them to torture. They remained thus the whole night ; and in the morning were paraded through the city, clad in the manner described, the one having the horns of an ox on his head, and the other the ears of an ass,

these being attached to the skins which they wore. Each of them was made to ride upon an ass, with his face turned towards the tail.[1]

Their punishment filled the people with amazement; for how different was this from the last occasion when they had seen them ride, richly attired and superbly mounted, through this same town of Lahore. When they returned to the pleasure-house where the king was, the captain was so overcome by the ignominy to which he had been exposed in the streets, where he had formerly gone in state, with his elephants, and horses, and retainers, that he had no strength even to stand, and fell to the ground as one dead. The king gave orders that his head should be cut off, and sent to Agra, to be fixed to the gate of the city. His body he ordered

[1] In the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the emperor writes, "I gave Khusru into custody, and I ordered these two villains to be enclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and so to be paraded round the city. As the skin of a cow dries quicker than the skin of an ass, Husain Beg lived only to the fourth watch, and then died. Abdur Rahim, who was in the ass's skin, and had moisture conveyed to him, survived." A year or two later (1609), he writes, "On the 14th Zi-l-hijja, having pardoned all the faults of Abdur Rahim Khar, I promoted him to the rank of *yuzbashi* and 20 horse." *Khar* is the Persian for an ass, and was the title conferred on Abdur Rahim to commemorate his famous ride through the streets of Lahore. Husain Beg appears to be the captain who, whilst on his way to join the emperor at Agra, met and transferred his allegiance to Khusru. Abdur Rahim joined the prince when he arrived before Lahore. Jahangir states that "when Khusru arrived at Mathura, he met Husain Beg Badakshi, who was of those who had received favours from my revered father, and was coming from Kabul to wait on me" (*ibid*, i. 54).

to be cut up into four quarters, and fixed to poles which were to be set up on the highways, as a fearful warning to any who should contemplate similar evil practices.

The Treasurer was left sewn up in his case; but the king, as a great favour, gave permission that his servant might moisten the skin on the outside, so that it should grip him less severely. But he had to pay dearly for any relief that this afforded him; for the moisture engendered fleas and other vermin, so that his tortures were worse than before, and he accounted himself happy when he could crush some of them in his fingers. In addition, the skin began to putrefy with the heat of the sun, and gave off such an evil smell, that none would come near him. In the end, however, the king graciously pardoned him, being desirous of marrying him to one of his daughters, for which honour he was to pay his majesty something over a hundred thousand crowns. On the same evening that he paid this sum, he was unsewn, and taken to the city; and in a few days he began to go about as before. Eventually having regained the king's good graces, he was reinstated in his former office.

Many of the soldiers who had followed the prince had also been captured; and on the day that the king made his entry into the town, two hundred of these captives decorated his route, on either side of which they had been, by his orders, either impaled or hanged. Amongst these were many who were

related to his chief favourites ; but none dared open his lips in their behalf, lest he should be accounted a partisan of the prince. The march to the city was a sort of triumph. As the king, mounted on a magnificently caparisoned elephant, passed along the route, he turned his head from side to side to regard his victims, listening to what was told him of each. A little behind came the prince, the fetters still on his feet, and mounted on a small elephant, devoid of harness or trappings.

After entering the town, the king confined the prince in his palace. He still kept him in chains,[1] though of a somewhat lighter description than before. Soon afterwards he took away from him,

[1] It was not till the following year that Khusru was liberated from his fetters. This was done at Kabul, whither the king had gone on a visit, taking his captive son with him. Here, however, a new conspiracy was detected, in which Khusru was, or was said to be, implicated. For this offence he was, after having been brought back to Agra, deprived of his eyesight. This, according to Du Jarric, was effected by means of the juice of some herb, which was poured into his eyes. But though to the end of his life he bore on his face the marks of this punishment, he was not, as stated by Tavernier, and implied by Du Jarric, permanently blinded. According to another, and far more credible, account, Jahangir "caused his son's eyelids to be sew'd up, that so he might bereave him of his sight without putting out his eyes, and at once deprive him of the means to make any further trouble in the kingdom; but after the expiration of some days, Selim, causing his eyes to be opened again, prevented Chosrou from being always blind" (*vide* Ogilby's *Asia*, vol. i. p. 170). In the year 1620, Khusru was released from confinement, but was shortly after handed over to the custody of his brother, Shah Jahan, who was being sent to quell a disturbance in the Deccan, and who refused to march unless allowed to carry his brother with

and transferred to his second son, his titles and his princely rank, utterly degrading him, and depriving him of his right to succeed to the throne. A hundred thousand crowns came to the king through the captain whose head he had cut off, and another large sum through the other offenders.[1] All this he kept for himself; but the horses, and other things that he took from his son, he bestowed on those whom the prince regarded as his greatest enemies; and this he did to render his vexation the more acute. Thus God chastises, in this life, the children who rebel against their fathers.

him. A year later Shah Jahan wrote to inform his father that Khusru had died of colic. The fact that the king was just then seriously indisposed, lent colour to the suspicion, widely current at the time, that Shah Jahan had hastened his brother's end; but there is no real evidence to show that he did so. That Shah Jahan bore his bereavement philosophically is likely enough; for it removed from his path an extremely formidable rival: a rival whose succession to the throne would have been hailed with joy by many, both within the court and without it.

[1] The Great Mogul was heir to all the estates and wealth of his nobles and others who held office under him. This rule, which was designed to prevent any one family from growing too powerful, was followed, Orme says, "in all the Indian governments in Hindustan, as well as that of the Great Mogul. . . . The Feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title and the pension which accompanies it, acknowledges the Great Mogul his heir. No man, from the vizier downwards, has any trust of importance reposed in him but on these terms; and on his decease, the whole of his property that can be found is seized for the use of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleases. The estates of all who are not feudatories descend to the natural heirs" (*History of the Military Transactions etc.*, vol. i. p. 27). Jahangir states that Husain Beg's property amounted to nearly seven *lakhs* of rupees.

But before passing on to other matters, we must refer to the punishment which overtook a certain false prophet, who, on behalf of his false gods, made the prince many wonderful promises. It was while the latter was flying from Agra that he passed a spot where dwelt one whom the Gentiles called Goru [1] (meaning to them what our Holy Father the Pope means to Christians). As the people honoured and reverenced him as a saint, the prince went to see him, in the hope, as it seems, that his visit would bring him good luck. The Goru bestowed on him the *proficiat* of his new royalty, and placed his tiara on his head.[2] Although the Goru was a Gentile, while the prince was a Saracen, he deemed himself at liberty to bestow on him this mark of dignity, proper to a Gentile, in as much as

[1] This was Guru Arjan, the fifth of the Sikh Gurus, and the compiler of the *Granth Sahib*.

[2] " . . . *luy fit le proficiat de sa nouvelle royauté, et luy mit sa thiare sur la teste.*" A 'proficiat' was the fee, or honorarium, paid to a bishop on his assumption of a new charge. Du Jarric apparently refers to the five thousand rupees which the Guru is said to have presented to the prince on this occasion, using the word 'proficiat' to keep up the pontifical analogy. It may, however, be that Du Jarric means nothing more than that the Guru gave the prince his blessing ; and in this sense the passage is taken by Martinez, who, in the *Thesaurus*, renders it, somewhat weakly, *Ille regnum illi gratulatus, diadema capiti imponit.* The word *thiare* is evidently a mistake ; it was not a tiara which the Guru placed on the prince, but the *tika*, the mark made on the forehead of Hindus either as a sign of sovereignty, or to bring success in some great enterprise. Such a mark would, of course, only be 'proper to a Gentile.' That *tika* is the word that should have been used, is plain from the account given by

the prince was the son of a Pagan woman.[1] The prince willingly received it, believing the Goru to be a saint.

When, after the capture of the prince, all this came to the king's knowledge, he commanded the Goru to be brought to him ; and for some time kept him a prisoner. But certain of the Gentiles interceded with the king on behalf of their holy man, and at last obtained his pardon, in consideration of a sum of a hundred thousand crowns, which a certain rich Gentile guaranteed to pay. Now this man had consoled himself with the thought that either the king would remit the fine, or that the saint would himself provide the means of paying it, or that he would, at any rate be able to recover it

Jahangir in his *Memoirs*. The Guru, he says, "behaved to Khusru in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger mark in saffron, which the Indians (Hinduwān) call *qashqa*, and is considered propitious" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* i. 72). *Qashqa* is the Turki equivalent of the Hindi *tika*; and it is the latter word which is generally used in India.

[1] Khusru's mother was a Rajput princess, a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Jaipur. She was Jahangir's first and favourite wife ; and his genuine love for her is one of the redeeming features—and they are none too numerous—of his ferocious career. Many years after her death he thus wrote of her in his *Memoirs* : "What shall I say of her excellences and goodness ? She had perfect intelligence, and her devotion to me was such that she would have sacrificed a thousand sons and brothers for one hair of mine. . . . In consequence of her death, from the attachment I had for her, I passed some days without any kind of pleasure in life or existence, and for four days, which amount to thirty-two watches, I took nothing in the shape of food or drink" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, i. 55).

through the mediation of other Gentiles. But in these hopes he was disappointed; and in consequence, he proceeded to take from this poor wretched pontiff all his worldly possessions, including his furniture, and the belongings of his wife and children. And when all this did not suffice to pay the fine, he commenced—so little do these people regard either law or gospel, particularly where their own interests are concerned—day by day to expose him to shame and ill-usage, even causing him to be beaten and starved by his own servants. These things he did in the hope that the Goru, in his desire to escape his miseries, would produce the money that was required, and which his tormentor still believed him to possess. But this neither the Goru, nor any on his behalf, could do; and at last the wretched man died, overcome by the woes and sufferings heaped upon him by those who had formerly held him in adoration.[1] His guarantor sought to escape his obligations by

[1] The Sikh account of the death of Guru Arjan (*vide* Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. iii. pp. 70-101) differs considerably from that given above. According to the former, the real author of the crime was Chandu Sāhib, the emperor's minister of finance. Enraged at the Guru's rejection of an alliance with his family, Chandu Sahib prevailed on the emperor to imprison him, on the ground that he was a man of evil ambitions, and a danger to the empire. Two lakhs of rupees were then demanded from him as the price of his liberty; and on his refusing to pay this sum, he was placed under the surveillance of Chandu Sahib, who inflicted on him the cruelties which led to his death, or rather, as his followers would have us believe, to his disappearance from the world; for, horrible as were the sufferings he endured, it is asserted that he was never overcome by them, but that, "having

flight ; but was taken and put to death, after everything that he possessed had been seized. Such was the end of those who assisted the prince in his revolt.

obtained leave to bathe in the river Ravee, he vanished in the shallow stream, to the fear and wonder of those guarding him." Jahangir, in his *Memoirs*, leaves us in doubt as to how the Guru actually met his end, and merely states that, after confiscating his property, he " commanded him to be put to death."

IX

A VISIT TO SIVAJI

(Oxinden) [1]

After the many vicissitudes of his daring and adventurous career, Sivaji found himself, in 1674, master of a territory which embraced the whole of the southern Konkan (excepting the small possessions of the English, Portuguese, and Abyssinians), and a considerable portion of what was known as the Balaghat, or the high country east of the *ghats* or 'passes,' where his sway extended up to, and in places beyond the banks of the upper Kistna. He had already (1668) been acknowledged a Raja by the Great Mogul; and the comparative tranquillity he enjoyed during the two succeeding years had enabled him to consolidate his possessions, and organise his administration and military resources on new and efficient lines. That the world at large might be under no misapprehension as to his position, he assumed the rank and privileges of sovereignty, and on the 6th of June, 1764, was publicly crowned king in the fortress of Rahiri. The ceremony, which was conducted with much pomp and solemnity, was witnessed by Mr. Henry Oxinden, who had been sent to Rahiri to negotiate a treaty with Sivaji, and who has left us the following account of his visit to the Maratha court.

Memorial or Narrative of what occurred in Henry Oxinden's journey to the castle of Rahiri, the

[1] So much of our knowledge of Sivaji is derived from second-hand, or hostile sources, that a life-sketch of him, however fragmentary, by an unbiased hand is of exceptional interest and value. Mr. Oxinden's report of his embassage to Rahiri is in no

residence and court of Sivaji Raja, to which place he was enordered to repair by the Honourable

sense a literary masterpiece. It is just a plain, unvarnished statement of how he found his way to the mountain fortress, and what he saw and did when he arrived there. The sketch is lacking both in imagination and detail. It is the work of a draftsman rather than an artist; but the facts on that account stand out the more plainly; and the imaginative reader will have little difficulty in filling in the picture.

The circumstances in which Mr. Oxinden was sent on his mission to the court of Sivaji are thus described in Bruce's *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, (vol. ii. pp. 363-365): "The foreign transactions at the Presidency of Surat, and in the island of Bombay, during the season of 1674-75, open with the deliberations and proceedings of the President and Council, to meet the difficulties, which they were experiencing from Aurangzeb, and from Sivagee, not only at Surat, but on the coast opposite to Bombay, and in the countries in the vicinity of those parts of the Malabar coast, at which the Company's trade had, hitherto, been carried on. From having neither force nor authority to take a decided part in favour of any of these Princes, nor specific instructions to direct their commercial relations with them, it remained on the one hand to negotiate with Sivagee, for liberty and privilege of trade, and on the other it was hazardous to force connexions with him, which might awaken the suspicion, or expose them to the resentment of Aurangzeb. The state of affairs, at this juncture, from the power of Sivagee, required that an envoy should be sent to that chief, and Mr. Henry Oxinden was selected for this service: his instructions, in substance, were, to endeavour to settle the payment of the damages sustained by the English, at Rajahpore, which, by a convention, had been admitted by Sivagee; to obtain permission to trade at the ports in his dominions; and that the Company's agents might be allowed to make inland purchases and sales in the countries between those ports and the Deccan, particularly at the ports opposite to Bombay. By the prudent management of Mr. Oxinden, a grant was obtained from Sivagee, on the 12th June, 1674, conferring privileges of trade on the Company; with an explanation that if their money should be of sufficient fineness, there would be no difficulty in its passing

Gerald Aungier,[1] President of India, and Government of Bombay, etc. Council, to conclude the long depending differences betwixt the said Raja and the Honourable English East India Company, and negotiate a firm peace with him.

1674. May the 13th. Having received instructions from the Honourable President of the Council

current in the Hindoo dominions, without being the subject of a separate article in the grant."

Mr. Oxinden's narrative, or rather diary, as here produced, is a copy of the MS. contained in the Factory Records of the India Office. The spelling has been modernised, and the entries under the dates May 15th to 18th, being little more than lists of halting places, have been omitted. No other changes have been made in the MS.

[1] The Honourable Gerald Aungier, brother of the first Earl of Longford, became Governor of Surat in July, 1669. He was a great man; or, at any rate, he should be so regarded by the inhabitants of Bombay; for, but for him, their beautiful city might never have existed. It was he who fortified Bombay, and raised a force of militia to defend it against the Marathas; and it was he who beat off the Dutch fleet in 1670. In 1672 Aungier made Bombay his headquarters. Under his able administration the people enjoyed freedom of trade and freedom of religion. The land revenue was fixed; the compulsory carrying of loads by natives was abolished; courts of justice were set up; and a regular police force was established. The population increased by leaps and bounds; and when disease became rife, it was Aungier who set to work to drain the pestilential swamps which were making the city a death-trap to Europeans and Indians alike. He continued to devote himself to the development of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants, as well as to the promotion of trade and friendly relations with neighbouring states, until death put an end to his labours on June 30th, 1677. Aungier's designation 'President of India' is interesting as an example of the restricted use of the word India by European nations of the period (see note p. 171).

and got all things in readiness in order to my journey, embarked in a Bombay shibbar[1] (together with Mr. George Robinson and Mr. Thomas Michell, by his Honour appointed to accompany me), and about nine of the clock at night arrived at Chaul,[2] a Portugal city on the main, into which we could not enter, the gates being shut up and watch set, so that we passed this night in the suburbs, in a small church called St. Sebastian's, and

The 14th. About three in the afternoon receiving advice that Sivaji was returned to Rahiri from Chiblone, departed thence to Upper Chaul, a town belonging to the Raja, about two mile distant from the Portugal city, and was in former times a great mart for all sort of Deccan commodities, but now totally ruined by the last wars betwixt the Mogul and Sivaji, whose armies have plundered and laid it waste. The

[1] A name given to coasting vessels plying between the western ports of India. The word is said to be a corruption of the Persian *shahi-bar*, a 'royal carrier' (see Yule's *Glossary*, p. 827).

[2] Choul, or Chaul, now often known by its Portuguese name, Revadanda, is situated on the North Konkan coast, almost due east of Poona. It is a place of great antiquity, being mentioned by Ptolemy, and in the *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*. Though now of small account, Choul was once the most important seaport and trading centre on the west coast of India. The Portuguese established a factory there in 1516. Barbosa, who visited Choul at the beginning of the sixteenth century, describes it as a flourishing and prosperous city.

Negotan, referred to in the next paragraph, was, according to Crooke, half a mile to the east of the present Borivli station, on the Bombay Baroda railway. Pen is in the Colaba district, some 10 miles from the mouth of the Bhagavati Creek. Chiblone is the modern Chiplun, in the Ratnagiri district.

Subadar of this town being a person of quality who commands the country opposite to Bombay, as Negotan, Pen, etc., I thought good to give him a visit, and to present him with a couple of pamerins,[1] and the rather because I understood from Narayan Sinay,[2] our linguist, that he hath some aversion to our nation, and might somewhat hinder our proceedings at court, which I was willing to take him off by all fair means. He received the visit kindly, and promised all the courtesy that lay in his power to perform, and after some immaterial discourse we returned to our tent and

The 19th. Set forwards for Rahiri, and about nine of the clock came to Pancharra, a town at the foot of Rahiri hill, where we understood that Sivaji was departed thence to Pratabgad,[3] to visit the

[1] A pamerin (from the Hindi word *pamari* = silken clothes) was a piece of silk cloth which could be worn either as a shawl or a turban. Fryer describes a pamerin as a "fine mantle."

[2] Narain Sinay held the post of interpreter to the English at Surat. He had been sent to Rahiri in advance, to make preliminary arrangements for the embassy. His report to the 'Honourable Council,' written on April 4th, 1674, is to be found in the Factory Records at the India Office. For some inexplicable reason, Crooke, in his edition of Fryer's *Travels*, identifies Narain Sinay with Naranji Pundit. The latter was manifestly Sivaji's agent, or representative. He was, moreover, a person of considerable influence at the Maratha Court. In an earlier despatch, Oxinden refers to him as one "whose counsel he (Sivaji) follows in most things."

[3] Sivaji built Pratabgad or Partabgarh, 'the Fort of Glory,' in 1656, and five years later, dedicated there a temple to his family goddess, Bhavani. The place is eight miles south-west of Mahableshwar.

shrine of Bhavani, a pagoda of great esteem with him, and celebrate some ceremonies there in order to his coronation, having carried with him several presents, and among the rest a sombrero[1] of pure gold weighing about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mds. which he hath dedicated to the said pagoda's use. Understanding here that we could not be admitted into the castle before Sivaji's return, pitched our tents in the plain, and

The 20th. Esteeming it necessary in order to our more speedy dispatch to make our business known to our Procurator, Naranji Pandit, I went to visit him (whose reception was very kind). I delivered him his Honour's letters showing him several presents we brought for the Rajah and Ministers of State, of which he highly approved, and promised to help us to the Raja's presence as soon as conveniently he

[1] This is the reading of the India Office MS. of the *Memorial*; and in Oxinden's despatch of May 21st the same word is used. Fryer, who, in his *Travels*, quotes the *Memorial* almost *verbatim*, read the word as 'lumbrico,' which Crooke, who evidently had not seen the India Office MS., makes a gallant effort to explain, *vide* vol. iii. of his edition of the *Travels*. In manuscript it would be easy to mistake either word for the other; but there is no doubt that 'sombrero' is the correct reading. The latter word was used by writers of the period to signify an umbrella, which is clearly its meaning here. In India an umbrella is a mark of distinction. A *chhatr-dhari*, or *chhatr-pati*, 'one entitled to carry an umbrella,' means a Raja, or Prince; and though the *chhatr* is to-day used by all classes, politeness still demands that it should be closed or lowered when addressing, or even when passing, a person of superior rank. The state umbrella is held over gods and kings; it is a conspicuous object in religious processions, and is often of a gigantic size. It would, therefore, be an appropriate offering to make at the shrine of a divinity.

could, after his return from his pilgrimage to Pratabgad. In the interim we might rest satisfied that his endeavours should be totally employed in forwarding the Honourable Company's interest, and procuring us a speedy dispatch, for which, having rendered him thanks, I presented him with the Articles which we brought for the Raja to sign, translated in the Marathi language, which he said he would peruse, and then give his judgment of them another time. I then took occasion to discourse with him concerning the conclusion of a peace betwixt the Raja and Siddi [1] of Danda Rajapur, urging many arguments to create in him a belief it would be for the Raja's advantage, but he would not be persuaded it was

[1] The Abyssinians, or Siddis, as they were called, had for some years held the island of Janjira as the vassals of the king of Bijapur. They subsequently added to their possessions the fortress of Danda Rajapur on the mainland, together with a considerable portion of what is now the Colaba district. Sivaji had long cast a covetous eye on their possessions, particularly Danda Rajapur, and had made many attempts to oust the African intruders. In the course of the struggle, Danda Rajapur had changed hands more than once. It was at this time in the possession of the Abyssinians, who had recaptured the place in 1671, and had held it, in spite of repeated assults, ever since. This continuous warfare kept the whole of the southern Konkan in a state of turmoil: roads were impassable for the peaceful merchant; and trade with the interior of the country was at a standstill. The Siddis sought and obtained the assistance of the Moguls, and both sides endeavoured to enlist the support of the English. The latter, however, preserved a wise neutrality. The Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Gerald Aungier, used all his influence to induce the combatants to come to terms; but, as is apparent from Mr. Oxinden's narrative, his efforts met with little success. In a despatch to Aungier, dated May the 21st, Oxinden wrote: "The Rajah will doubtless have Danda

for his master's interest to raise a siege which hath cost him so much blood and treasure, especially now he hath such hopes of gaining the place, and therefore told me it would be in vain to move it to the Raja, who was resolved to take that castle, let it cost what it will, and to that effect was daily sending down more ordnance, ammunition, men and money. I replied the President had no more design in making this motion than that of a good neighbour to them both, having observed the miseries that each party endured, and the general obstruction of trade

this rains or next monsoon, intending to make a furious assault on it speedily after his coronation, to which effect he hath ordered his best soldiers to get themselves in readiness, and hath already sent 15 pieces of ordnance to strengthen and renew the battery. He hath offered the Siddi upon delivery of the castle what mansab (?) he shall desire ; upon refusal whereof he must expect the miseries that attend war." Sivaji bore the English no ill will on account of their neutrality, or the fact that the Siddi had been allowed a temporary asylum in Bombay. In the above quoted dispatch, Oxinden says : " I have given Naranji Pandit to understand what had passed betwixt the Siddi and your Honour at Bombay and the reasons of his wintering there, which was contrary to your consent. He seemed much satisfied therewith, and told us if by reason of your friendship with and interest in the Mogul country, you could not deny the Siddi's wintering there, the Rajah could not expect nor desire any more but that you would not assist him in anything to his (Sivaji's) prejudice." Oxinden's forecast in regard to the fate of Danda was wrong. When Sivaji died in 1680 the fortress was still untaken.

The term Siddi is from *Sidi*, the Hindi equivalent of the Arabic *Saiyid*, ' Lord,' whence the Spanish, *Cid*, and the English term ' Seedy-boy.' *Sidi* was the name given in India to African Muhammadans (*vide* Yule's *Glossary*, p. 806). The present Nawab of Janjira, a descendant of those who held the island in the time of Aurangzeb, is to-day known as ' the Sidi.'

occasioned by the war; but since he desired me to desist mentioning it to the Raja, I should not trouble him therewith, but what was more consistent with advantage, but he would not be persuaded it was our and his own interest, which was the encouraging of trade and merchandise in this country, and opening the ways to Balaghat,[1] that merchants might with safety bring down their goods to the sea-ports, which would be much to the Raja's profit and increase of trade and treasure; and this I recommended to his prudence to persuade the Raja thereto, who being a soldier from his infancy, it's possible minded not such concerns, to which he answered that he doubted not but it would be effected in a short time, for that the king of Bijapur, who is owner of those countries from whence most sort of commodities come, being weary of the wars with his master, hath sent several ambassadors to conclude a peace with him, which he thought would be made up within two or three months, and thus the ways would be free, and the merchants have egress and regress as formerly; that the Raja would, after his coronation, act more like a prince by taking care of his subjects, and endeavouring the advancement of commerce and trade in his dominions, which he could not attend before, being in perpetual war with the Great Mogul and king of Bijapur. This is the substance of my first discourse with our Procurator,

[1] Balaghat means the high (*bala*) lands to which the *ghats*, or passes, led.

Naranji Pandit, who seems to be a man of prudence and esteem with his master, so that after a little sitting, I took my leave of him, having first presented him with a diamond ring for which he expressed a liking, and his eldest son a couple of pamerins, and doubt not but they will well deserve it from the Honourable Company if any settlement is made in Sivaji's dominions. After returning to the tent, I gave his Honour an account of my negotiations, together with the news current in these parts.

21st. This day we continued in the same place under the tent, and found it excessive hot and incommodious, but this evening to our joy we understood that the Raja was returned from Pratabgad, when I solicited Naranji Pandit to procure leave to pass up the hill into Rahiri Castle,[1] and on

[1] Rahiri, or Rairi, afterwards called Raigarh, is on the western slope of the Ghats, and due east of Jinjara. The fort occupied the summit of a precipitous crag nearly 3000 feet high, and was "as impregnable as Gibraltar." Khafi Khan relates that when Sivaji had completed the fortification of this stronghold, he called an assembly, and "having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred pagodas before the people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort, and plant a flag, by any other than the approved road, without the aid of ladder or rope. A *Dher* came forward, and said that with the permission of the Raja he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return. He ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance. Sivaji ordered that the purse of money and the gold bracelet should be given to him, and that he should be set at liberty; and he gave directions for closing the way by which the *Dher* had ascended." Raigarh was captured by the British in the Maratha war of 1809.

The 22nd. We received orders to ascend up the hill into the castle, the Raja having enordered us a house there ; which we did. Leaving Pancharra about three of the clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the top of that strong mountain about sunset, which is fortified by nature more than art, being of very difficult access, with but one advance to it which is guarded by two narrow gates, and fortified with a strong high wall, and bastions thereto. All the other part of the mountain is a direct precipice, so that it is impregnable except the treachery of some in it betrays it. On the mountain are many strong buildings, as the Raja's court and houses for other ministers of state, to the number of about 300. It is in length about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and breadth $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ; but no pleasant trees nor any sort of grain grows thereon. Our house was about a mile from the Raja's palace, into which we retired with no little content.

The 26th. The Raja, by the solicitation of Naranji Pandit, gave us audience, though busily employed with other great affairs, as his coronation, marriage, etc. I presented him and his son, Sambaji Raja, with those particulars appointed for them by the President and Council, which they seemed to take very kindly, and the Raja assured us that we might now trade securely in his dominions without the least apprehension of evil from him, for that the peace was concluded. I replied that was our intent, and to that effect the President of the Council had

sent me to his court to procure some Articles signed and privileges granted by him, which were the same we enjoyed in Hindustan, Persia, etc., where we traded. He answered it was well; and referring me to Moro Pandit,[1] his Peshwa or Chancellor to examine the Articles, and give him an account what they were, he and his son took their leaves, and retired into their private apartments, where they were busily employed with the Banyans in consultations and other ceremonies, and will hear of no manner of business until the coronation be over. We likewise departed to our house again, when I gave his Honour an account of my transactions hitherto.

May 28th. Went to Naranji Pandit, and took his advice concerning the presenting the rest of the Ministers of State, who told me that I might go in person to Moro Pandit, but to the rest I should send what was for them by Narayan Sinay, declaring likewise that if I would have our business speedily effected, and without impediment, it was necessary to be at some more charge to present some officers with pamerins, etc., who were not mentioned in our list of presents, to which I assented, considering that the time of year was far spent, and that should we be forced to stay the whole rains at Rahiri, the Honourable Company's charge would be greater than the additional presents come to, and therefore

[1] Moro Pandit was Sivaji's chief minister, or *peshwa*. He was subsequently removed from office by Sambaji, and imprisoned.

desired to know who they were which we must oblige. He answered that two pamerins were not enough for Moro Pandit, that we must present him with four, and Dataji Pandit, *wakia-navis* or public intelligencer, with a ring that is valued at 125 rupees,

the Dabir or Persian escrivan, with 4 pamerins,
Samji Naiji, Keeper of the Seal,[1] ,, ,, ,, ,
Abaji Pandit, ,, ,, ,, ,

and then I need not doubt of a speedy conclusion. Otherwise they would raise objections and scruples on purpose to impede our negotiations; for every officer in court expected something according to his degree and charge. So we took our pamerins, etc., for them, and went, accompanied by Naranji Pandit's son to Moro Pandit with his present, who received it very kindly, and promised he would press the Raja to confirm the Articles and dispeed us, as did all the rest of the ministers unto whom, by Naranji Pandit's advice, I sent Narayan Sinay and a servant of my own.

The 29th. This day the Raja, according to Hindu custom, was weighed in gold, and poised about 16,000 pagodas, which money, together with one hundred thousand more, is to be distributed after

[1] Crooke has the following note on this office:—Mr. Irvine suggests that the term 'Keeper of the Seal' may mean the Nya Shastri, who was "expounder of the Hindu law, and Shastas; all matters of religion, criminal law, and of science, especially what regarded judicial astrology, belonged to this office," which Grant Duff says was held by "Sanbha Oopadheea" that is to say, Sambha an Upadhya Brahman, who was possibly this officer (Fryer's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 205).

the coronation unto the Brahmans who in great numbers are flocked hither from all the adjacent countries.[1]

The 30th. This day I sent our linguist, Narayan Sinay, to Naranji Pandit to enquire what he had transacted in our business touching the signing of our Articles, etc., who returned answer that the Raja stopped his ears to all affairs whatever, and deferred them till his coronation was over, being busily employed with his Brahmans, to put things in a readiness against that day, it being now at hand, and therefore must have patience till then, declaring that the Raja had granted all our demands except those two Articles wherein it is expressed that our moneys shall go current in his dominions, and his on Bombay, and that he shall restore whatever wrecks may happen on his coast belonging to the English and inhabitants of Bombay. The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted in the Articles of peace, because he forbids not the passing of any manner of coin in his dominions, nor on the other side can he force his subjects to take those moneys whereby they shall be losers. But if our coin be of as fine an alloy

[1] In his report (referred to in note 2, p. 209), Narain Sinay states : "Sevajee is making a throne very magnificent on which he spends much gold and jewells intending to be crowned in June next, being the beginning of the New Year; to this coronation he hath invited many learned Bramines, and will liberally bestow on them ellephants, horses, and money." Sarkar says that 11,000 Brahmans "making 50,000 souls with the wives and children, were assembled at Raigarh and fed with sweets for four months at the Raja's expense."

and as weighty as the Mogul's and other Princes', he will not prohibit its passing current.[1] To the other Article he says that it is against the laws of Konkan to restore any ships, vessels or goods that are driven on shore by tempest or otherwise, and that should he grant us that privilege, the French, Dutch, and other Merchants in his country would demand and claim the same right with us, which he could not grant without breaking a custom that hath lasted for many ages.[2] The rest of our desires he most willingly conceded, embracing with much satisfaction our friendship, and promising to himself and country much happiness by our settlement and trade. Naranji Pandit did likewise then inform me that he doubted not but to persuade the Raja to grant us our wrecks, because we enjoyed the same privileges in the Mogul and King of Deccan's country; but the former Articles concerning the money we must not expect it, and it was enough that the Raja would not prohibit its passing if made conformable in goodness and weight to other kings' coins, with which I might rest satisfied; and that as soon as possible after the Raja's corônation he would get the Articles

[1] The first mint in Bombay was established by Aungier in 1670.

[2] "The claim to wrecks on this coast dates from very early times. 'And this naughty custom prevails over all these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it is bound, it was sure to be plundered.' (Marco Polo, ii. 386)" (Fryer's *Travels* i. 206). According to Abdur Razak (see note 1, p. 54) the 'naughty custom' did not prevail in the territory of the Zamorin.

signed and dispatch us; of all which I advised his Honour by the return of some coolies I sent to Bombay to ease our charges.

June 5th. Naranji Pandit sent me word that on the morrow about seven or eight in the morning the Raja Sivaji intended to ascend his throne,[1] and he would take it kindly if I came to congratulate him therein, that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it being not the custom of these eastern parts to appear before a prince empty-handed. I sent him answer that I would according to his advice wait on the Raja at the prescribed time.

The 6th. About seven or eight of the clock, went to court, and found the Raja seated in a magnificent

[1] Sivaji's coronation was not designed to gratify his personal ambition or pride. It was an act of diplomacy, and its design was to create an impression. Kingly titles and the pomp of power had *per se* little fascination for the Maratha chieftain, whose temperament was in many respects that of an ascetic, and whose manner of living was frugal to the verge of parsimony. But he was fully alive to the weight attaching to these outward and visible signs, and to the necessity of stamping himself in the eyes of his people as their legitimate and divinely appointed king. Without a public act of consecration, his kingship would not be accepted. "His promises," to quote Professor Sarkar, "could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of the state. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with a legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories acquired by his sword could not become his lawful property, however undisturbed his possession of them might be in practice. . . . The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated as the act of a sovereign." It was for this reason that Sivaji determined that his coronation should be on a grand scale, and that the ceremonial prescribed by custom and tradition should be scrupulously followed.

throne, and all the nobles waiting on him in very rich attire, his son Sambaji Raja, Peshwa Moro Pandit, and a Brahman of great eminence seated on an ascent under the throne, the rest, as well officers of the army as others, standing with great respect. I made my obeisance at a distance, and Naranji Sinay held up the diamond ring which was to be presented him. He presently took notice of us, and enordered our coming nearer even to the foot of the throne, where, being vested, we were desired to retire, which we did, not so soon but that I took notice on each side of the throne there hung (according to the Moors' manner), on heads of gilded lances, many emblems of government and dominion, as on the right hand were two great fishes' heads[1] of gold with very large teeth ; on the left hand, several horses' tails, a pair of gold scales on a very rich lance head poised equally, an emblem of justice ; and as we returned, at the palace gate there was standing two small elephants on each side, and two fair horses

[1] The fish is an ancient emblem of sovereignty in the East. The dignity of the *mahi* (the Persian word for 'fish') is one of the highest distinctions that can be conferred on a prince, or great noble. The emblem consists of the figure of a fish, four feet long, in copper gilt. It is fixed horizontally on the point of a lance, and is borne on the back of an elephant or camel. The *mahi* is usually displayed in conjunction with two gilt balls, likewise an ancient badge of sovereignty ; and the whole is known as the *mahi muratib*, or more correctly, the *mahi o muratib*, that is, the 'fish and (other) insignia,' *muratib* being an Arabic word signifying 'degrees of rank' (*vide* Irvine's *Armies of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 33). The 'horses' tails' were no doubt, as Crooke points out, Yaks' tails. The bushy tail of the Yak, or Tibetan

with gold bridles and rich furniture, which made us admire which way they brought them up the hill, the passage being so difficult and hazardous.

The 8th. The Raja was married to a fourth wife without any state or ceremony, and doth every day distribute his alms to the Brahmans.

The 9th and 10th. Every day solicited Naranji Pandit to get our Articles signed and dispatch us, the rains being set in violently. He returned answer that he would lose no opportunity, carrying them always about with him, but that the Raja was totally taken up in the distribution of his alms to the Brahmans.

The 11th. Naranji Pandit sent word that the Raja had granted all the demands and Articles excepting our money passing current in his country, which he accounted needless, and had signed them ; that to-morrow the rest of the ministers of state would sign them, and that we might depart as soon as we pleased.

The 12th. This day the rest of the ministers of state signed the Articles, and I went to receive them at the Pandit's house, when they were delivered me by him, who expressed much kindness for our nation,

ox, is another emblem of royalty. It is often seen mounted in a richly decorated handle, and is waved about the heads of princes to keep the flies away. It is also supposed to bring good luck. In central Asia, according to Crooke, nobody goes to the war in any good heart without it, "for they believe that any one who has it shall come scathless out of battle." The 'scales' are known as *mizan*, the Arabic name for the zodiacal sign *Libra*.

and promised on all occasions to negotiate our business at court with the Raja, for which having rendered him thanks, and given a cousin of his a pamerin for his pains in translating the Articles and other services, I took my leave of him, and the

13th. Departed Rahiri castle, and the 16th arrived at Bombay and delivered his Honour the Articles of peace signed and ratified by Sivaji and his ministers of state, which if punctually observed will be of no small benefit to the Honourable Company's affairs, both on this island Bombay and their factories which may be settled in Sivaji Raja's dominions.[1]

HENRY OXINDEN.

[1] Fryer concludes his account of Oxinden's mission with the following anecdote : " The diet of this people (*i.e.* the Marathas) admits not of great variety or cost, their delightfullest food being only Cutchery (*khichri*), a sort of pulse and rice mixed together, and boiled with butter, with which they grow fat ; but such victuals could not be long pleasing to our merchants, who had been used to feed on good flesh. It was, therefore, signified to the Rajah, that meat should be provided for them, and to that end a butcher that served those few Moors that were there, that were able to go to the charge of meat, was ordered to supply them with what goat they should expend, which he did accordingly, to the consumption of half a goat a day, which he found very profitable for him, and thereupon was taken with a curiosity to visit his new customers ; to whom, when he came, it was told them, the honest butcher had made an adventure up the hill, though very old, to have the sight of his good masters, who had taken off his hands more flesh in that time they had been there than he had sold in some years before."

Crooke thinks this story unlikely because " almost all Mahrattas eat mutton and goats flesh . . . Sivaji and his court, however, under Brahmin influence, may have discontinued the eating of meat, except that of sacrificed animals."

X

THE COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL

(Tavernier) [1]

The following is an account of the Mogul court as it was in the days of the Emperor Aurangzeb. The fête referred to is the celebration of the forty-seventh anniversary of that monarch's birthday, which fell on the 4th November, 1665.

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[1] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the renowned French traveller, was born in Paris in the year 1605. His father followed the profession of a geographer and engraver; and it was doubtless the geographical surroundings of his boyhood which inspired Tavernier with the desire to see foreign countries. He himself adopted a mercantile career, and became a dealer in precious stones and other costly wares. Commercial considerations directed his steps to the East; and between the years 1638 and 1668 he visited India six times. It was during the last of these visits that he witnessed the scenes here described.

The first edition of his *Six Voyages en Perse, et aux Indes* was published in 1676. There are numerous later editions, and the work has been translated into many languages. Of English versions, that of Dr. V. Ball, *Travels in India of Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, has superseded all others. The original edition, published by Macmillan and Co. in 1889, is now scarce; but a new edition, edited by the late William Crooke, C.I.E., has just been issued in two volumes by the Oxford University Press. The passages composing the text of this chapter have been taken from the latter. Ball's work contains, in addition to many critical and scientific notes and appendices, a valuable biographical sketch of Tavernier, and an exhaustive bibliography. Those who wish to

THE Emperor's palace is a good half league in circuit.[1] The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate [2] has nothing magnificent

pursue the subject further should consult the writings of Professor Charles Joret, and particularly his *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, published in Paris in 1886.

Tavernier, though less of a scholar than his contemporary, and sometime companion, Bernier, was a keen and shrewd observer, as well as a graphic, if not an accomplished writer. In the words of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, "Bernier writes as a philosopher and man of the world; his contemporary Tavernier views India with the professional eye of a jeweller; nevertheless his *Travels* contain many valuable pictures of Mughal life and character." It is, in fact, these vivid pictures of the Empire and the Imperial Court in the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb which constitute the peculiar and permanent value of the *Six Voyages*, a value which has yet to be adequately recognised. For a scientific appreciation of the political drama of the period we must, indeed, look elsewhere; but those who would explore the stage of the drama, and catch here and there a glimpse of the 'passing show,' will not easily find a more competent guide than Tavernier.

Of the account here given, the first eight paragraphs are from Book I. chapter vi. of the *Travels*. The remainder comprises chapter viii. and a portion of chapter ix. of Book II.

[1] The fortress here described is that built by the emperor Shah Jahan, and named the *Lal Kila*, or 'red fort.' It was commenced in 1638, and took ten years to complete. Around it grew up the city of Shahjahanabad, the 'new' or 'modern' Delhi, of which Shah Jahan was the founder.

[2] This is the Lahore Gate, looking straight down the Chandni Chauk. What Tavernier calls the 'first court' was the courtyard enclosed by the outworks of this gate, and was outside the main wall of the fortress. The "long and wide passage" leading from this courtyard to the courts of the interior is, according to

about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

Leading from this court there is a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse-guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the Judges' court. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage leads to a large court where the Omrahs,[1] *i.e.* the great nobles of the kingdom, who resemble the Bachas (Pashas) in Turkey, and the Khans in Persia, constitute the body-guard. There are low chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept, and from

Fergusson, 375 feet in length. It resembles, to quote the same authority, "the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral, and forms the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace."

[1] This is the Arabic word *umara*, the plural of *amir*. Its correct meaning is, therefore, 'nobles' or 'grandees.' Tavernier, however, in company with other writers of the period, uses it as a singular noun.

whence the khilat [1] is obtained whenever the Emperor wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little further on, over the same gate, is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept,[2] which are heard some moments before the Emperor ascends his throne of justice, to give notice to the Omrahs, and again when the Emperor is about to rise. When entering this third court [3] you face the

[1] A *khilat* is a dress of honour which kings or princes bestow as a mark of distinction. The Arabic word *khal* means 'stripping' or 'removing,' and a *khilat* is, properly speaking, the gift of a robe which the giver has stripped from himself. The dress of honour is usually presented in pieces, not made up : the number of pieces being in proportion to the rank of the recipient, or the degree of honour it is desired to confer. The presentation by a king of a garment which he has himself worn is a mark of the highest distinction. A *khilat* may include jewels, arms, and even a horse, or an elephant ; but in such a case the gift would usually be described as 'a *khilat* and arms, a horse, etc.'

[2] This was the *nakara khana*, or 'drum-room.' It appears to have been the business of the musicians to keep the Omrahs awake, and there can be little doubt that they did their duty efficiently. "To the ear of an European recently arrived," says Bernier, "this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many cymbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called Karna, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a foot. The cymbals of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge therefore of the roaring sound which issues from the Nagar-Kanay. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable ; but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure ; in the night, particularly when in bed and afar on my terrace, this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious."

[3] This was the largest of all the courts, measuring 540 feet from north to south, and 420 from east to west. The *divan*, or 'hall,' projected into the court (from the side opposite to the entrance)

Divan where the Emperor gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square with their pedestals and some mouldings. When Shahjahan commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke in Italy; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, and content himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne, when the Emperor comes to give audience and to render justice. . . . In the court below the throne there is a space twenty feet square surrounded

to a distance of 180 feet. The Persian word *divan* or *diwan* signifies a royal court, or court of justice. The hall where the Great Mogul sat in public durbar was known as the *diwani-am* (*am* = common, public), and that in which more private audiences were held, as the *diwani-khas* (*khas* = special, noble). Aurangzeb used this particular hall for both purposes, and it was accordingly known, as Bernier states, as the *am-khas*, "because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects." The word *diwan* may also signify a minister of state, especially a minister of finance. The manager of a Zamindar's estate, or the chief accountant in a business firm, is frequently styled a *diwan*.

by balustrades, which on some occasions are covered with plates of silver, and at others with plates of gold. At the four corners of this space the four Secretaries of State are seated, who both in civil as well as criminal matters fulfil the rôles of advocates. Several nobles place themselves around the balustrade, and here also is placed the music which is heard while the Emperor is in the Divan. This music is sweet and pleasant, and makes so little noise that it does not disturb those present from the serious occupations on which they are engaged. When the Emperor is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the Nawab, who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand Vizir in Turkey, comes to make a report of whatever has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking the Emperor rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the Emperor seats himself on his throne till he rises, no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to leave the palace; though I am bound to say that the Emperor was pleased to exempt me from this rule, which is general for every one—and here, in a few words, is how it occurred.

Wishing one day, while the Emperor was in the Divan, to leave the palace on urgent business which could not by any means be deferred, the captain of the guard caught me by the arm, and told me roughly that I should not pass out. I argued with him some

time, but at length, seeing that he would treat me with violence, I put my hand to my canjare, and would have struck him in the rage I was in if three or four guards, who saw my action, had not restrained me. Happily for me the Nawab, who was uncle of the Emperor, passed at the moment, and being informed of the subject of our quarrel, ordered the captain of the guards to let me go out. He reported to the Emperor in due course how the matter had occurred, and in the evening the Nawab sent one of his people to tell me that His Majesty had notified that I might enter and leave the palace as I pleased while he was in the Divan, for which I went on the following day to thank the Nawab.

Towards the middle of the same court there is a small channel which is about six inches wide, where, while the Emperor is on his seat of justice, all strangers who attend the audience must stop. They are not allowed to pass it without being called, and even ambassadors themselves are not exempt from this rule. When an ambassador has arrived at the channel, the officer in charge of the introductions calls out towards the Divan, where the Emperor is seated, that such an ambassador wishes to speak to His Majesty. Then a Secretary of State repeats it to the Emperor, who very often does not appear to hear, but some time after lifts his eyes, and throwing them upon the ambassador, conveys a sign through the same Secretary that he may approach.

From the hall of the Divan you pass on the left

to a terrace from whence you see the river, and thence the Emperor enters a small chamber from which he passes into his harem. . . .

When I went to take leave of His Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his *fête*, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders that all his jewels should be shown me. I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he conferred on me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him,[1] and if he should

[1] Sir T. Roe, who witnessed the *fête* of Jahangir, gives in his *Journal* an interesting account of the weighing ceremony. The scales used were of beaten gold, set with precious stones, and suspended by golden chains. The king, smothered in diamonds, rubies, and pearls, seated himself tailor fashion in one of the scales, while parcels of rupees were placed in the other. On this occasion 9000 rupees were required to balance the Great Mughal. He was next weighed against gold and precious stones, then against cloth of gold, silks, and spices, and lastly against honey, butter, and corn. The rupees were given to the poor, and the other spoils to Brahmans and Baniyas. According to Sir T. Roe, however, only a small proportion of the latter were distributed, the remaining and more valuable articles finding their way back to the royal *tosha-khana*.

After the weighing ceremony, a number of attendants appeared bearing basins filled with silver fruits. These the king scattered about, and the nobles of the court scrambled for them. "I," says Sir T. Roe, "thought it not seemly to do so; and the king observing it, took up one of those basins which was almost full, and emptied it into my cloak. His courtiers had the impudence to thrust in their hands so greedily, that, had I not prevented them, they had not left me one."

weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is so much the greater. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and offer him presents. The ladies of the court also send gifts, and he receives others from the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the Emperor receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 *livres* (£2,250,000).

Preparations for this festival, which lasts five days, are commenced on the 7th of September, about two months before the event. The first thing done is to cover in two large courts[1] of the palace from the middle of each up to the hall, which is open on three sides. The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are of the size of a ship's mast, and some of them are thirty-five to forty feet in height; there are thirty-eight for the tent of the first court, and those near the hall are covered with

[1] It is not always easy to determine which are the courts that Tavernier refers to. In this case, however, he must mean the two in which the *diwani-am* (or *am-khass*, as Bernier calls it), and the *diwani-khass* were situated, as no other court contained a *diwan*. The *diwani-khass* was behind, and to the right of the *diwani-am*.

plates of gold of the thickness of a ducat. The others are covered with silver of the same thickness, and the cords which sustain these poles are of cotton of different colours, some of them of the thickness of a good cable.

The first court [1] is, as I have elsewhere said, surrounded by porticoes with small rooms connected with them, and here it is that the Omrahs dwell while they are on guard. For it should be remarked that one of the Omrahs mounts guard every week. He disposes, both in the court as also about the palace or the Emperor's tent when he is in the field, the cavalry under his command, and many elephants. During this week the Omrah on guard receives his food from the Emperor's kitchen, and when he sees from afar the food which is being brought to him, he makes three obeisances in succession, which consist in placing the hand three times on the ground, and as often on the head,[2] at the same time praying to God to preserve the Emperor's health, and that He will give him long life and power to vanquish his enemies. All these Ormahs, who are the nobility of the kingdom and Princes of the blood royal, regard it

[1] This must mean the first court reached after entering the fortress, and previously described as the second court.

[2] This form of salutation is known as *taslim*. On ordinary occasions the obeisance is only made once, and is usually accompanied by the words *as-salam alaikum*, 'peace be upon you,' to which the reply is *wa-alaikum as-salam*, 'and on you also be peace.' The *taslim* should always be made with the right hand; to make it with the left, the hand that is used for the 'legal ablutions,' would be a mark of extreme disrespect.

as a great honour to guard the Emperor ; and when mounting or leaving guard, they don their best clothes, their horses, elephants, and camels are also richly clad, and some of these camels carry a swivel-gun with a man seated behind it to fire. The least of these Omrahs commands 2000 horse, but, when a Prince of the blood royal is on guard, he commands up to 6000.[1]

It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court,[2] resembles in form and size our

[1] Bernier gives a vivid picture of these nobles as they assembled on state occasions in the great square (now no longer to be seen) before the Lahore Gate. "Nothing," he says, "could be more brilliant than the great square in front of the fortress at the hours when the *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and *Mansabdars* repair to the citadel to mount guard, or attend the assembly of the *am-khass*. The *Mansabdars* flock thither from all parts, well mounted and equipped, and splendidly accompanied by four servants, two behind and two before, to clear the street for their masters. *Omrahs* and *Rajas* ride thither, some on horseback, some on majestic elephants ; but the greater part are conveyed on the shoulders of six men, in rich *Palekys*, leaning against a thick cushion of brocade, and chewing their *bet-lé*, for the double purpose of sweetening their breath and reddening their lips. On one side of every *paleky* is seen a servant bearing the *piquedans*, or spittoon of porcelain or silver, and on the other side, two more servants fan the luxurious lord, and flap away the flies, or brush off the dust with a peacock's-tail fan ; three or four footmen march in front to clear the way, and a chosen number of the best formed and best mounted horsemen follow in the rear."

[2] It is disconcerting to meet with another 'first court.' This, however, is obviously the court of the *am-khass*. Presumably

camp beds ; that is to say, it is about six feet long and four wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from twenty to twenty-five inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than eighteen inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass [1] ruby, cut *en cabuchon*, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table cut, and the intervals between the rubies and the emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed ten to twelve carats [2] in weight, all showy

Tavernier means the first of the two courts referred to in connection with the birthday *fête*.

[1] A *balass* ruby is, strictly speaking, a spinelle, the name being derived from Balakshan (Badakshan), where these stones were found. The term *balass* is, however, frequently applied to rubies of a particular shade of colour (*vide* vol. i. p. 382 of Ball's work), and it is in this sense that it is used by Tavernier. Spinelles, though much inferior in value to rubies, are nevertheless stones of great beauty. By its appearance a good spinelle is hardly to be distinguished from a ruby.

[2] Tavernier uses the Florentine *carat*, which is equivalent to 3.04 grs. troy, 4 per cent. less than the English *carat* (Ball, vol. ii. preface).

stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from his throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched. . . .

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of fifty carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond from eighty to ninety carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point

about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from six to ten carats each. At four feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for seven or eight feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.[1]

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by Shahjahan ; and those who keep the account of the Emperor's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs of rupees, which amount to 160,500,000 *livres* of our money.[2]

[1] The splendour of the throne was equalled, if not surpassed by the splendour of Aurangzeb himself. "The King," says Bernier, who also describes the royal *fête*, "appeared seated upon his throne in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white delicately flowered satin, with silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban of gold cloth had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls suspended from his neck reached to his stomach." Tavernier says that the famous 'Mogul's Topaz' was purchased at Goa for 181,000 rupees, and that it weighed 158½ *carats*.

[2] As Dr. Ball points out, Tavernier evidently meant one thousand and seventy lakhs of rupees, which is the equivalent of 160,500,000 *livres*. This sum, taking the *livre* at 1s. 6d., represents over £12,000,000. The estimate given by Bernier is only £4,500,000 ; but in this case Tavernier must be regarded

Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands which has the form of a bathing-tub. It is of oval shape, about seven feet in length and five in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy.

In the first court, on the right hand, there is a special tent under which, during the Emperor's festival, the principal *baladines* [1] of the town are obliged to be present in order to sing and dance

as the safer guide. He was not merely a connoisseur in such matters, but an expert. He examined the throne very thoroughly and his enquiries as to its cost are likely to have been equally thorough. It was obviously impossible for him to verify the estimate given to him by the keepers of the royal jewels; but the fact that he quotes this estimate without challenge or comment of his own, justifies us in assuming that it did not strike him as extravagantly excessive.

As the throne is no longer in existence, its true value must remain a matter of conjecture. The *takht-i-taus* in the royal palace at Teheran was long supposed to be the original peacock throne of the Great Moguls; but the investigations of Lord Curzon, during his Persian travels in 1889-90, proved that this throne is, comparatively speaking, a modern structure, having been made in the early part of the last century for Fath Ali Shah, on the occasion of his marriage with Taus Khanam, or the Peacock Lady, as his Ispahani bride was popularly styled. The real Mogul throne, which Nadir Shah looted from Delhi, or rather the fragments which once composed it, were discovered at Meshed by Agha Muhammad Khan, the founder of the present Persian dynasty, and by him were "made up into the throne of modern shape and style, which now stands at the end of the new museum in the palace at Teheran" (*vide Persia*, by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, vol. i. p. 322).

[1] The word *baladine*, or bayadere (from the Portuguese *bailadeira*), means a dancing girl, a *kanchani*. The nautch was an entertainment much in vogue at the court of Shah Jahan, and the *kanchanis*, or at any rate the more select among them,

while the Emperor is seated on his throne. To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the Emperor's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time that the Emperor remains seated on his throne, thirty horses are kept, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, while some have only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these costs from 3000 to 5000 *écus*, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, *i.e.* 10,000 *écus*.[1]

enjoyed the royal favour even to the extent of being admitted within the precincts of the seraglio. "Most of these *kanchanis*," Bernier observes, "are handsome and well dressed, and sing to perfection; and their limbs being extremely supple, they dance with wonderful agility, and are always correct in regard to time; after all, however, they are but common women." In the following reign, the same writer tells us, their privileges were considerably curtailed: "Aurangzeb is more serious than his father. He forbids the *kanchanis* to enter the seraglio; but, complying with long established custom, does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the Am-Khass, where they make the salam from a certain distance, and then immediately retire."

[1] The *écu* being equal to 4s. 6d., the prices of the horses would be from £875 to £1125 and £2250 (Ball, p. 385).

The Prince, who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the Emperor is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained for war, are brought for his inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the Emperor wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the royal standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces of the Emperor, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes His Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the Emperor, one of the men who is riding upon it raises the housing in order that the Emperor may see if the animal is in good condition, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to show whether it has increased in girth since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, of which the Emperor is very fond, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses. It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to

drink. I have elsewhere spoken of the number of elephants kept by the Emperor,[1] to which I add here that when he rides out on his elephant the Omrahs follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the Omrahs follow on foot. After the Emperor has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one may become disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four

[1] In an earlier chapter Tavernier says, "When at Jahanabad I often enquired of the person who has charge of them in order to know what the number of elephants was which he feeds for the service of the king, and he assured me that he had but 500, which are called elephants of the household because they are only employed to carry the women and the tents with all the rest of the baggage, and for war only 80 or at most 90." These numbers seem very small when we think of the 5000 elephants which, according to Monserrate, accompanied Akbar on his march to Kabul in 1581. But '80 or 90' must not be taken as the total number of war elephants that Aurangzeb possessed. Tavernier states elsewhere that 200 were employed at the siege of Daman. It may be regarded as certain, however, that Aurangzeb maintained far fewer war elephants than his predecessors. The introduction and increased use of firearms led to a rapid decline in the fighting value of these animals. As time went on, fewer and fewer were trained for fighting purposes; and by the middle of the eighteenth century their use in the field may be said to have come to an end.

making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs in order to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days that the festival lasts, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is done with much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the Great Mogul being in power and wealth in Asia what the King of France is in Europe, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.

Since Aurangzeb has occupied the throne of the Moguls, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year ——,[1] which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzeb drank only a little water and ate a

[1] Ball has the following note: "This comet, if, as we may suppose, it appeared in 1665, was first seen in Europe at Aix, on the 27th of March of that year. It lasted four weeks, and had a tail 25 degrees long. Its orbit was computed by Halley (*vide* Chambers's *Astronomy*, 'Catalogue of Comets,' No. 64).

small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time has never enjoyed perfect health.

I remember seeing the Emperor drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him upon a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a large cup of rock crystal, all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his women-kind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a prince or to one of his own relatives. While I was on my last journey, Ja'far Khan,[1] who was his Grand Wazir, and, moreover, his uncle on his wife's side, invited the Emperor to

Terry refers to two great comets which appeared while he was at the Mogul's court in the month of November 1618. They were followed by drought and famine (see *A Voyage to East India*, London, 1777, p. 393)." It is surprising that so orthodox a Mussalman as Aurangzeb should have shared the superstition regarding comets and their baleful influence; for, according to the teaching of Islam, astrology is an unlawful science. Jahangir appears to have been less credulous. After describing the comet of 1618, which, he says, his astronomers measured and found it to extend to 24 degrees, he adds, "Astrologers call such a phenomenon a spear, and have written that it portends evil to the chiefs of Arabia, and the establishment of an enemy's power over them. God alone knows if this be true!"

[1] Ja'far Khan was made prime-minister in 1662. He was related to Aurangzeb both by blood and by marriage: his mother was sister to Nur Jahan, the wife of Jahangir, and the extravagant

visit him and inspect the new palace which he had had built for himself. This being the greatest honour His Majesty could do him, Ja'far Khan and his wife, in testimony of their gratitude, made him a present of jewels, elephants, camels, horses, and other things, to the value of seven lakhs of rupees, which amount to 1,050,000 *livres* of our money. This wife of Ja'far Khan is the most magnificent and the most liberal woman in the whole of India, and she alone expends more than all the wives and daughters of the Emperor put together; it is on this account that her family is always in debt, although her husband is practically master of the whole empire. She had ordered a grand banquet to be prepared for the Emperor, but His Majesty, as he did not wish to eat at Ja'far Khan's house, returned to the palace and the Princess sent after him the dishes she had destined for him. The Emperor found all the dishes so much to his taste that he gave 500 rupees to the eunuchs who brought them, and double that amount to the cooks.

When the Emperor goes to the mosque in his pallankeen one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot. Those who are Musalmans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he comes

lady he married was sister to Mumtaz Mahal, the celebrated consort of Shah Jahan. Though he held his high office for some years, history tells us little of Ja'far Khan beyond what we learn from Tavernier. His tomb is still to be seen on the bank of the Jumna at Agra.

out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other, seated on its back, bearing a standard attached to a hand pike. Each of the four other elephants carries a seat or kind of throne on its back, one of which is square, another round, one covered and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the Emperor goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men for his bodyguard, each man armed with a kind of hand pike. Fireworks are attached to the iron blade ; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length ; when ignited they will carry the hand pike 500 yards. The Emperor is also followed by 300 or 400 matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. . . .

Once a fortnight the Emperor goes out to hunt, and while *en route*, and also while the chase lasts, he is always mounted on his elephant. All the animals which he shoots are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles—because, as for wild boars, he as a good Musalman does not wish to see them. On his return he uses a pallankeen, and there is the same guard and the same order as when he goes to the mosque, save that during the chase there are 200 or 300 horsemen who ride before him in confused ranks.

The Princesses, whether they are the Emperor's wives, his daughters, or his sisters, never leave the

palace except when they go to the country for a few days' change of air and scene. Some of them go, but rarely, to visit the ladies of the nobles, as for example the wife of Ja'far Khan, who is the Emperor's aunt. This is not done except by the Emperor's special permission. The custom here differs from that in Persia where the Princesses make their visits only at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road. But at the court of the Great Mogul the ladies generally go out at nine o'clock in the morning, and have only three or four eunuchs to accompany them, and ten or twelve female slaves who act as ladies of honour. The Princesses are carried in pallankeens covered with embroidered tapestries, and every pallankeen is followed by a small carriage which contains only one person. It is drawn by two men, and the wheels are not more than a foot in diameter. The object in taking these carriages is, that when the Princesses arrive at the houses they are going to visit, the men who carry the pallankeens are allowed to go only to the first gate, where the eunuchs compel them to retire; the Princesses then change into the carriages, and are drawn by the ladies of honour to the women's apartments. For, as I have elsewhere remarked, in the houses of the nobles the women's apartments are in the centre, and it is generally necessary to traverse two or three large courts and a garden or two before reaching them.

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